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ABSTRACT

The text examines issues related to Hispanic children in special education. Chapter 1 discusses four court cases brought against schools for inappropriate placement of Hispanic and other minority students in classes for the educable mentally retarded. Testing is the focus of Chapter 2, which includes analysis of linguistic and cultural bias, factors involved in intelligence testing of Spanish speaking children, and a review of seven tests recommended for diagnosing exceptionalities in this population. Chapter 3 views learning in a dual cultural context: touches on the effects of such cultural factors as dependency, personalism, and humanism: considers the effects of culture on communication: and describes interference factors originating in the majority culture. Related national and state legislation is reviewed in Chapter 4, and Chapter 5 discusses the current status of special education with Hispanics and makes suggestions regarding testing, overall service delivery, inservice training, and teaching competencies. The chapter also provides prescriptions for teaching Spanish speaking children with specific handicaps (emotional disturbance, mental retardation, learning disabilities, and speech and communication handicaps). (CL)

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SPECIAL EDUCATION AND THE HISPANIC CHILD:

CULTURAL PERSPECTIVES

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SPECIAL EDUCATION

AND

THE HISPANIC CHILD:

Cultural Perspectives

by

Eliane C. Condon
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THIS BOOK IS DEDICATED

To the National Teacher Corps
and its Spirit of Innovation

To Dr. William L. Smith, Teacher Corps Director
who made this research possible

To American educators
who will implement its findings

To Spanish-Speaking Children
who will benefit from their application

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PREFACE

From a historical perspective, the meaning and process of "Pedagogy" or "Education" have changed in time within the context of socio-cultural changes brought about by revolutionary upheavals or evolutionary processes. As an example, one might point out the changes which have taken place in education under the influence of the industrial revolution and, more recently, that of mass media and the information explosion.

Traditionally, the process of education has to some extent implied indoctrination into the value systems cherished by a particular culture. Within culturally homogeneous, closed societies, such an educational process usually takes place without great difficulty. However, in a culturally pluralistic, highly complex technological society such as exists in the contemporary United States, the problems of education are magnified by the cultural diversity which is found among its many ethnic and subcultural groups.

In such circumstances, exceptional children above all others among cultural minorities find the process of adaptation to the educational requirements imposed by the dominant culture most difficult to cope with. Because American society places a high value upon verbal communication skills and its educators accept the existence of a close affinity between verbal skills and cognitive functioning (as defined in this culture), many culturally different students who are lacking in verbal communication skills are being suspected of intellectual subnormality. Added to the adjustment difficulties faced by the children of cultural minorities in school is the lack of understanding of their cultural uniqueness exhibited by their teachers who, in most cases, are members of the dominant culture.

There are not too many publications on the market today which are designed to help educators bridge the gap of cultural understanding which exists between them and their minority students. The book authored by Drs. Condon, Peters, and Suzeiro-Ross fulfills such a function since its goal is to acquaint the teacher of elementary school children with the special difficulties faced by Spanish-speaking children in the academic environment. The text provides very valuable information about Hispanic attitudes, personality and expectations which will be useful to anyone who comes into contact with members of the Latino communities. Especially elucidating for the non-Hispanic reader is the discussion of cultural factors in the upbringing of Hispanic children. While focusing upon a comparison of cultural differences, the authors avoid value judgments, a scholarly quality which considerably increases the informational value of the book.

The contents of the publication are well organized and easy to follow. For a quick review of key concepts contrasting Anglo-American and Hispanic education, Table II presents concise information. It should be pointed out, however, that some of the contrasting assumptions presented therein will be subject to variations when they are viewed from the social class dimension rather than from the cultural or ethnic dimension which the writers have stressed. The careful reader will also keep in mind the effect of the 1973 major revision of the AAMD classification system on Special Education processes, which took into consideration some of the criticisms of labeling as mentally retarded children those who were in many cases simply culturally different.

In summary, non-Hispanic educators will find the present book an informative, highly valuable and essential reading to achieve understanding of the behavior of Spanish-speaking children.

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INTRODUCTION

One important issue in American education today is the challenge of providing an effective education for thousands of exceptional Spanish-speaking children who attend school in this country. Many of these youngsters do not possess the language skills needed by them to function in an English-speaking environment and, in their case, this communication handicap is further aggravated by two other factors--first, the unique nature of their needs; and, second, the complexity of linguistic and cultural interferences associated with exceptionalities.

In the area of "regular" education alone, millions of dollars have been spent to date on programs designed to improve instruction for Hispanic children in the United States. Yet, these efforts appear to have produced very few beneficial results so far, if one accepts the findings published by researchers and educators over the past few years. Almost without exception, these documents have highlighted one major and overriding conclusion, which is that on a nationwide basis, Spanish-surname children do not perform in school as well as their non-Spanish peers. These findings have been substantiated by federal and other statistics which show that the average educational record of such youngsters is characterized by underachievement, academic retardation, achievement scores below the national level, a high dropout rate, and a

minimal rate of college enrollment (Kobrick, 1972; Lavatelli, 1970; Nimnicht, 1969; Fantini and Weinstein, 1968; Dentler, 1966).

The impact of these findings upon the national scene was clearly expressed in a statement made some years ago by Senator Yarborough in 1967, during the first session of the Hearing Before the Special Committee on Bilingual Education of the Senate Committee on Labor and Public Welfare in Washington, D.C.:

> The failure of our schools to educate Spanish speaking students is reflected in comparative dropout rates. In the five southwestern states . . . Anglos 14 years of age and over have completed an average of 12 years of school compared with 8.1 years for Spanish-surname students. I regret to say that my own state of Texas ranks at the bottom, with a median of only 4.7 years school completed by persons of Spanish surname according to the 1960 census.

This deplorable situation extends as well to the area of Special Education. A number of researchers interested in the education of culturally different children, have recently investigated the processes of referral and assignment to Special Education programs, as they apply to Spanish students on the U.S. mainland. They consistently reported a disproportionately large representation of minority students in these classes, especially those for the mentally retarded or the emotionally disturbed, a condition which they ascribed primarily to mislabeling and to inappropriate placement (Mercer, 1972; Castellanos, 1973; Batlle, 1970; Hill, 1975).

The "errors" noted by these scholars in the identification of exceptionalities in Spanish-surname children, may be traced to the inadequacies of the referral system when applied to youngsters who are non-English speakers or, at the most, partial bilinguals. In some cases, the existence and the very nature of the learning problems are simply related to a language deficit; in other cases, they may be masked by a cultural difference in such a way as to cause the actual handicapping factors to be erroneously diagnosed or inadvertently overlooked by a teacher or members of the Child Study Team. Indeed, wherever a teacher's linguistic or cultural background differs from that of a student, their interaction is likely to be hindered by communication problems frequently leading to a mutual misinterpretation of verbal and social behaviors. In such a situation, a child's actions or words which are appropriate to his native culture may be unacceptable in the school culture and may consequently be perceived by an educator as symptoms of "abnormality," subject to special education handling. Basically, however, the problem is created by cultural differences in behavioral expectations, perceptual interpretations, and basic assumptions relative to standards of "normality" in the classroom. All to often it is also further aggravated by the linguistic limitations of the learner.

Within this crosscultural context, several categories in Special Education have a particular significance for the exceptional Spanish-speaker, because they are susceptible to cultural misinterpretation, and yet depend upon a classification process which does not take into account the linguistic and/or cultural background of the child. These categories include the Communications Handicapped, Mentally Retarded, Emotionally Disturbed, Socially Maladjusted, and Learning Disabled children. In no case should a diagnosis of these special problems ever be attempted without reference to the appropriate cultural context of the student. (See Appendix A for detailed definitions of categories of Exceptional Children).

Some insight into the cultural difficulties encountered by monocultural educators when they attempt to identify Spanish-speaking pupils in need of Special Education within the categories listed above may be gained from the following examples:

COMMUNICATIONS HANDICAPPED CATEGORY

As a rule, the average, monolingual teacher is apt to underestimate grossly the amount of time and effort needed by a foreign-speaking boy or girl to achieve some basic fluency in English communication. Consequently, he or she may conclude that a Spanish child's difficulty in English expression is not a simple linguistic problem which can be easily solved with intensive E.S.L. practice and instruction, but one of communication impairment responsive only to special treatment.

MENTALLY RETARDED CATEGORY

In a Hispanic environment, little girls are expected to be shy and retiring. In an American classroom, such a quiet behavior when combined with limited English ability may lead to nonparticipation in classroom interaction. It may, in turn, be misinterpreted by the teacher as a signal of mental retardation.

EMOTIONALLY DISTURBED CATEGORY

The permissibility and range of emotional expression are culturally determined and are subject to variations across cultural boundaries. Emotional behavior on the part of a Spanish-speaking child, for instance, may be

accepted by the parents as simple "nervousness;" yet it may be labeled as a "disturbance" by an Anglo teacher and reported as such to the Child Study Team.

SOCIALLY MALADJUSTED CATEGORY

Socially accepted behavior is measured by cultural standards which are specific to the group. In a cross-cultural context, any deviation from accepted norms in the behavior of a newcomer may be classified erroneously as pathological. In the case of a Hispanic child, a diagnosis of "maladjustment" may be quite correct, yet may still give rise to cultural disagreement between the parents and the school concerning the cause and treatment of the problem. A Spanish-speaking child, victim of "mal ojo" (the evil eye) may be seen by the Anglo teacher as a candidate for special education, and yet be viewed by his parents as a normal, but temporarily sick child in need of folk treatment or spiritual healing.

LEARNING DISABLED CATEGORY

For Hispanic boys or girls, school is a traumatic experience which may impair their ability to function effectively in a classroom situation. Their passive behavior (refusal to speak and/or to participate in activities) may be correctly interpreted as a learning disability, but mistakenly attributed to an innate deficiency in the individual rather than to the defensive response of a sensitive child to culture shock--that of being suddenly transplanted from a

familiar and harmonious environment (the family and neighborhood) into the harsh reality of an alien context full of strange people, incomprehensible words and unheard of expectations (the school).

A review of past case histories among minority children assigned to Special Education classes would undoubtedly reveal a discouragingly high incidence of errors in the identification and classification of their learning problems (or causes thereof), as well as in the selection of "remediation" programs suited to their educational needs. Fortunately today, more and more educators are becoming increasingly concerned over the academic plight of these youngsters and over the tragic consequences of miseducation for them and for American society. This concern stems from a recognition of the waste in human potential which any academic failure represents in a modern world characterized by technological complexity, proliferating innovations, and accelerated change. As a result of this new awareness, scholars in the fields of education, sociology, psychology, and cultural anthropology are beginning to research the role played by cultural diversity in, and its effect on, the educational and socialization processes. One of the aspects of human interaction which has captured this new interdisciplinary interest in educational research is that of conflicts in values and patterns of behavior between the home and the school, as they affect communication between teachers and their students. Both theoretical information and practical data are now being sought to devise means of encouraging the academic achievement of culturally and linguistically different children (exceptional and other), and to facilitate their psycho-social adaptation to the life standards and expectations of mainstream American society, as implemented in the schools.

Up until fairly recently, the approaches recommended by educators to solve the difficulties experienced by atypical pupils in monolingual, monocultural classrooms were remedial and compensatory in nature. This deficit orientation was particularly exemplified in the early childhood area, where a number of preschool and Headstart programs were initially conceived and implemented throughout the United States for the purpose of offsetting the linguistic and conceptual deficiencies of Spanish-speaking children. The majority of these programs were designed around a sequence of language lessons which ignored the children's native language and stressed lexical and syntactical items in English only (Lavatelli, 1970). Most of these projects gave little or no attention to the inclusion of a bicultural component in their instructional materials, curricula, or classroom strategies, a fact which Bernbaum (1971) stated may have accounted for their limited success with Hispanic children.

The relative failure of compensatory programs to achieve their intended goal may be attributed in part to the inadequacy of teacher preparation programs in the area of Crosscultural Communication. Even today, few colleges are equipped to train educators to deal systematically with children whose classroom behaviors reflect the home culture with its different set of values, beliefs, customs and language. The problem faced by these teachers in a multicultural classroom is further exacerbated by the potential presence of exceptional youngsters whose handicaps may be concealed, modified, or intensified by other factors (cultural and/or linguistic).

Most public school educators are trained to deal with monolingual/monocultural children who share their own cultural values, expectations, and behavioral patterns. To some extent, this may be expected since schools are one of the prime agents of socialization in American society and, as such,

transmit nationally accepted values and customs through the medium of a common language--English. To many Americans (educators as well as laymen), bilingualism and biculturalism in education are novel concepts to be viewed with suspicion, for they seem to threaten the traditional, nationalistic beliefs which are woven into the very fabric of the country. For these individuals, the notion of asking educators to expand their pedagogical dimensions by including more than one language and one culture in their teaching is simply preposterous in a country where immigrants have always been expected to qualify for citizenship by learning the language and culture of their adopted land. And yet, despite these Americanization requirements, society in the United States has remained primarily a "mosaic" of ethnic groups concerned with the maintenance of their respective language and cultural heritage. Today, the myth of the "Melting Pot" propounded so long ago by Zangwill (1908) has been thoroughly discredited by social scientists; it has been replaced by a more realistic description of the principle on which this "nation of immigrants" has been founded, as that of cultural pluralism or unity in diversity, expressed in the motto "e pluribus, unum" (Greeley, 1974).

Under the circumstances, one may logically argue against the traditional monolingual-monocultural position of the schools by pointing out that educators cannot meet the challenge of a culturally and linguistically diverse student population by perpetuating the existing system of Anglocentric instruction. If, indeed, children are to be provided with equal educational opportunities, regardless of their ethnic or linguistic backgrounds, then their teachers must be prepared to develop the cultural (if not linguistic) sophistication needed to meet these diversified needs. Their failure to do so, now that the necessity of a multicultural approach to education has been established, would not only be inconsistent with the principles of democracy, but also contradictory to the mandate of

their profession.

The present monograph is intended to facilitate the redefined task of educators in pluralistically oriented schools by addressing some of the problems encountered by Anglo-American educators when they attempt to diagnose potential exceptionalities in Spanish-speaking children who are unable to succeed in a traditional learning situation. Its aims are:

1. *To acquaint teachers with the general educational problems and needs of Spanish-speaking children.*

2. *To acquaint teachers with the problems of identification, assessment, evaluation and placement as they apply to exceptional Spanish-speaking children.*

3. *To acquaint teachers with the linguistic and cultural variables which interact with, and affect the educational process with respect to Spanish-speaking children.*

4. *To acquaint teachers with the educational outcome of linguistic and cultural interference in the educational process.*

5. *To provide teachers with guidelines for meeting the specialized needs of exceptional Spanish-speaking children.*

An effort will also be made to provide some insight into those general, cultural characteristics which tend to be shared by Hispanic children and which may affect the nature and direction of their socialization and educational processes in the academic environment. However, caution should be exercised in the utilization of this information, lest

it becomes another form of stereotyping detrimental to the achievement of crosscultural understanding and communication. The data included in this publication are intended to serve only as guidelines, subject to variations arising from the interplay of many variables (individual, socioeconomic, subcultural, and other). To interpret and apply the information included therein in literal-minded manner would only serve to destroy the purpose for which it was originally assembled--to help culturally divergent teachers and students relate to one another in a more effective manner and, thereby, enable them to achieve the goal of equality in American education.

CHAPTER I

REFERRAL AND PLACEMENT OF SPANISH-SPEAKING CHILDREN

Despite the numerous advances made recently in the field of Special Education and in the development of more effective methods of identification, referral, and placement for all exceptional children, there is an urgent need for improvement in the application of these procedures to handicapped children in Spanish-speaking groups. Among them, and among other culturally different students, there are still large numbers of youngsters whose impairments remain unnoticed or are improperly identified by teachers (Milofsky, 1977). However today, Special Educators are attempting to penetrate the cultural screen which surrounds these children and to identify them at the earliest possible age in order to provide them with special integrated sequences of learning activities suited to their specific needs. Through this early intervention, they hope to optimize learning conditions for all exceptional Spanish (and other foreign) speakers and, in so doing, enable them to solve their scholastic difficulties.

Hobbs, (1975) investigated the referral process in relation to the Hispanic student population and found that teacher recommendations tended to be made on the basis of behavioral and/or academic problems and to be related to other factors, such as physical differences. Hill (1975) indicated that among Hispanic youngsters, 15% more students were referred for

intellectual difficulties than for physical problems, as compared to the Anglo or Black school population; she also noted that there appeared to exist a high correlation between facility in English and academic performance, as demonstrated by the high percentage of Spanish-speaking students who were (78%) referred for linguistic problems. Kobrick (1972) corroborated these findings by pointing out that the assignment of Chicano students to Special Education classes in the Southwest was based primarily on the results of I.Q. tests administered in English, a language little known to the children.

The Hill study clearly demonstrated the presence of a culture-based bias in the assignment of Black and Spanish-speaking children to educable mentally retarded classes. This discriminatory situation was attributed by the researcher to a skewing factor in the referral placement process, that is to say the school reliance on psychological and diagnostic tests (and testers) with little or no linguistic or cultural relevance to the tested group. Similar findings were obtained by Pettigrew (1964) who noted that the I.Q. scores of Black and Anglo children were approximately 6 points higher when the students were tested by an examiner of their own ethnoracial background, than when they were assessed by someone from a different race or culture.

Mercer (1972) ascribed the disproportionately high representation of Black and Hispanic children in Special Education classes to the fact that clinicians apparently failed to take sociocultural differences into account when they interpreted individual IQ's. Her study revealed that, when the variable of social background was held constant as was the case in the population sample used to standardize the Wechsler-Bellevue IQ Scale for children, no differences could be found between the measured intelligence of Anglo-American children and that of Mexican-American children.

The particular significance of these findings with respect to the education of Spanish-speaking children may be found in the nature and use of the evaluative instruments which were featured in the above-mentioned studies. One important factor to be taken into consideration in assessing the educational achievement of Hispanic boys and girls is that its measurement has been usually derived from the scores obtained by these children on tests administered in English, a language in which they are not necessarily proficient. All too often, the language factor has been overlooked in the interpretation of test results and the students' "poor performance" on psychological and achievement tests given in English has been taken at face value, thereby resulting in their being continually classified as "retarded" or "slow" learners in the schools. In direct consequence of this unfair assessment system, disproportionately large numbers of these youngsters have been inappropriately placed in classes for the retarded educables each year with little hope of redress (Batlle, 1972).

Court Cases

As a result of existing discriminatory practices in Special Education identification and placement, a number of court cases have been recently brought against schools by parents and community groups for their inappropriate assignment of Hispanic and other minority children to educable mentally retarded classes. Among these cases were four which received a considerable amount of publicity. Their outcomes are summarized below.

ARREOLA VS. BOARD OF EDUCATION, ORANGE COUNTY CALIFORNIA (1968)

This court action secured parental participation in the decision to place Hispanic students in educable mentally retarded classes. An injunction was granted to

prohibit the continuation of these special classes unless a hearing was provided before placement.

SPANGLER VS. BOARD OF EDUCATION, PASADENA, CALIFORNIA (1970)

The United States District Court found that a "racial imbalance" existed in the student populations and faculties of the Pasadena school district. This segregation was attributed to the school practice of assigning groups primarily on the basis of student scores obtained on "racially discriminatory" achievement and intelligence tests.

DIANA VS. THE STATE EDUCATION DEPARTMENT, CALIFORNIA (1970)

A group of nine Mexican-American students claimed that their placement in educable mentally retarded classes had been based on tests which relied on verbal English skills, and ignored their own native language skills. The decision rendered by the court was that the inherent cultural bias of the tests discriminated against the Mexican-American plaintiffs.

COVARRUBIAS VS. SAN DIEGO UNIFIED SCHOOL DISTRICT, SAN DIEGO, CALIFORNIA, (1971)

A claim was filed on behalf of twelve Black and five Mexican-American pupils "erroneously assigned" to educable mentally retarded classes. A preliminary injunction was entered enjoining the state of California from using IQ tests to place such children in classes for the educable mentally retarded.

One of the unfortunate outcomes of legal recourse against discriminatory school practices is that its side effects are not always predictable. In 1976, a Task Force of educators in New Jersey (Region 9) researched the impact made by one of the most recent laws supporting non-discriminatory testing (PL 94-142) on the education of minority children. The group found that instead of eliminating biased assessment, the law actually promoted it through a "bounty system" of allocating federal monies to schools in accordance with the number of children identified and labeled as Special Education candidates. Through this investigation it was also discovered that many Spanish-speaking children, unable to function in regular English-speaking classrooms, were being classified for Special Education simply because there were no other programs available in the schools to meet their "special" needs.

It stands to reason that a percentage of Hispanic children in American public schools qualifies for Special Education. For educators, therefore, the problem is how to identify them accurately with the means at their disposal, without penalizing their peers whose learning progress is restricted only by their language limitations and cultural differences. In order to succeed in this task, it is imperative that school personnel become familiar with the limitations of those tests which are currently being used to assess both intelligence and functional abilities in Hispanic children. It is also important for them to understand how the court cases discussed earlier came to be instigated by parents, and what steps are now being taken to remedy the inequities found in testing and evaluation procedures.

CHAPTER 2

EDUCATIONAL TESTING AND SPANISH-SPEAKING EXCEPTIONAL CHILDREN

Not only educators, but psychologists as well, are at a disadvantage in addressing and understanding the problems of linguistically and culturally different children, since nothing in their professional training prepares them adequately to handle interferences in the assessment of these students' needs and potential. Ney (1971) questioned the ability of a classroom teacher to handle the education of such diverse children as are found in the average multiethnic classroom in the United States. Oakland (1973) discussed in an article the problem of screening interference in the identification of learning needs, as did Mullen (1973), in a paper presented at the 14th American Congress on Psychology, held in Sao Paulo, Brazil. In her address the latter stressed the effectiveness of referrals handled by bilingual/bicultural psychologists, stating that since they were able to assess accurately the abilities and achievements of Spanish-speaking children and to interpret their culturally-prescribed emotional and personality patterns, in relevant manner, they were also able to provide schools with a valuable assistance in planning meaningful education programs for these students. According to the Mental Retardation News, December 1970, educators had already noted sizable reductions (as much as 50%) in the number of Hispanic youngsters assigned to classes for the mentally retarded when a bilingual/bicultural psychologist participated in the referral process.

Unfortunately, this ideal situation of matching evaluation teams and pupils from the standpoint of language and cultural background is seldom encountered in the schools at the present time. And, in the meantime, the challenge of identifying Spanish-speaking exceptional children continues to pose a problem to educational administrators and teachers, a problem which they must solve if they are to provide Spanish-speaking youngsters with the equal education opportunities to which they are entitled.

TESTING NON-ENGLISH SPEAKERS

As early as the 1920's (and probably long before that time), researchers showed considerable interest in investigating the problems of testing "foreigners" residing in other countries or in the United States. In 1922, Pintner and Keller (1922) administered a revised Binet Intelligence Test to American and foreign children in the kindergarten, first and second grades of three schools in Youngstown, Ohio. The purpose of their research was to investigate the effect of the language handicap on the children and on their test achievement. The results showed that foreign children rated decidedly lower on the Binet scale: the average IQ of the English-speaking group was measured at 92, while that of the foreign group was identified at 84. The Pintner Non-Language Scale was then administered to both groups of children and the results compared to the Binet scores. The difference between the verbal and nonverbal scores achieved by English and foreign-speaking children was found to be much larger for the latter than for the former: the performance age of foreign students was noted as higher than their identified mental age in twenty-three percent of the cases. On the basis of this information, the researchers concluded that foreign children suffered a considerably more serious handicap when tested by standardized verbal tests than

when given tests requiring a minimal knowledge of the English language.

Professional concern with the assessment of non-English speakers continued to develop in the 1930's. Davenport (1932) and Garth (1936) both tested Mexican students in order to determine their intelligence quotients. Garth administered the Pintner Non-Language Intelligence Test and the Otis Classification Test to groups of Mexican and Anglo-American children and found that the former scored lower than the latter on the verbal test, while they performed equally well on a non-language test. The study indicated that the IQ's of Mexican students equaled those of Anglo-American students, when measured by means of a non-verbal test.

Other researchers attempted to assess different abilities besides intelligence. Mahakian (1939) evaluated both the reading capacity and intelligence of Spanish-speaking students while Manuel and Hughes (1932) turned their attention to intelligence and drawing ability. The Manuel and Hughes study analyzed the drawings of Mexican and Anglo-American children, using for this purpose a test requiring the child to draw a human figure--the Goodenough Intelligence Test, a measurement device which also yields an index of the child's intelligence. The investigation revealed that Mexican boys and girls compared favorably grade for grade with their Anglo-American peers, but that they lagged approximately one year behind native English speakers in chronological age. The conclusion was that the Mexican children's advancement through school lagged behind their mental ability. The popular belief that Mexican children are generally talented in drawing and handwork was not supported by the results of the study.

A number of articles pertaining to the testing of intelligence in bilingual students was published during the 1940's and 1950's. They reported a

search for methods which would evaluate pupils with limited English ability in a more realistic manner than by means of verbal tests. Among researchers concerned with the measurement of mental abilities in bilingual children were the following: Carlson and Henderson (1950), who tested the intelligence of American children of Mexican parents; Darcy (1946), who studied the effect of bilingualism on the measurement of intelligence; and Pasamanick (1951) who discussed the uncontrolled variables at work in the assessment of IQ in American children of Mexican parentage.

Carlson and Henderson (1950) administered the California Test of Mental Maturity along with other IQ measurement devices to Mexican and other students living in a section of Los Angeles with a high concentration of Hispanic populations. The tests were given by the schools' psychological examiners who used a longitudinal approach in their interpretation of the results, comparing the mean intelligence scores of these two groups of children at different ages. It was discovered that the differences in IQ between the Mexican and non-Mexican students increased from the first testing period (six and one-half years of age) to the last testing period (eleven years of age); this variation was found to be primarily due to the occurrence of a drop in the mean IQ of the Mexican students over the years spent by them in school. In one major respect, the results of this investigation contradicted those of several other studies conducted at that time, for a comparison of two sets of scores yielded by the California Test of Mental Maturity at the fifth and sixth grade levels, failed to reveal any marked difference between the mean nonlanguage IQ score and the mean language IQ score achieved by the Mexican children.

In an attempt to summarize the state of the art in IQ testing, Darcy (1946) made a comprehensive survey of literature concerned with the effects of bilingualism on the measurement of intelligence. The survey revealed a scarcity of studies reporting in

favorable terms on the effect of bilingualism on intelligence scores. A few isolated researchers had found no significant difference between the intelligence scores of bilinguals and those of monolinguals; but the majority of investigating scholars had reached the conclusion that bilingualism did create a language handicap which was reflected in verbal IQ test scores, though not in those of nonverbal IQ tests. These last findings did not permit the equating of bilingualism with mental "inferiority".

Some years later, Pasamanick (1951) made an important contribution to scholarly knowledge on the relationship of bilingual ability to intelligence when he pointed to the unreliability of earlier findings which failed to take into consideration all of the variables likely to affect a child's mental development. Referring to Carlson's and other studies, Pasamanick noted that, despite their careful attempts to control variables, these researchers had nevertheless neglected to consider certain factors--such as inadequate diet and prenatal care or the lack of motivation in school associated with the unavailability of employment after graduation--when they interpreted their findings. Pasamanick concluded that the questionability of earlier studies indicated the need for a different kind of investigation which would include the factor of ethnic group differences.

One other limitation worthy of note in early comparative researches on IQ testing in "foreign" and American children, is the fact that most of them were carried out on target groups of Anglo-American and Mexican students. At that time, most of the Spanish-speaking children attending American schools belonged to that particular ethnic group; it was only later that the large influx of Puerto Ricans, and then Cubans, into the United States mainland made it possible for scholars to include them in their investigations. Over the past decades, articles dealing with the educational programs, intellectual testing, and social problems of these "new" Hispanic groups have proliferated, as researchers have extended their

interests to the examination of language interference and variations in non-verbal intelligence quotients among these newcomers.

Anastasi and de Jesus (1953) among others, studied Puerto Rican school children in New York City and suggested two potential explanations for their difficulties in school: first, that the combined use of both English and Spanish made the children illiterate in both languages and prevented them from functioning effectively in a classroom environment; second, that the child's "psychological insulation," made him develop passive and unresponsive habits which practically insured his academic failure in the competitive context of the American school. Anastasi and her coresearcher de Jesus, a native Spanish speaker, subjected a group of Puerto Rican students to the Goodenough-Draw-a-Man Scale, a non-verbal test which did not require language facility. Prior to the administration of the test, questions were asked of each student by a Puerto Rican examiner, and fifty language samples were taken in the language spoken by the child. Immediately after the sample had been taken, the students were given the Draw-a-Man-Test. Surprisingly, many of the children reacted in a disturbed manner to the performance of the required task; in fact, three of the subjects had to be eliminated from the project because they refused to take the test. In reviewing the results of the study, the researchers found that the language samples they had obtained were almost wholly in Spanish with certain English words occurring with relative frequency. The most significant findings were that these Puerto Rican children were not inferior in language development to white Anglo-American children and that their IQ achievement, as revealed by the Draw-a-Man Test, did not fall below the norms established for their white Anglo-American counterparts.

During the 1960's and 1970's, the trend in mental measurement turned from a narrow consideration of intellectual abilities to a broader exploration of mental skills as they related to specific learning

disabilities, children with exceptionalities and Special Education. From that time onward, articles describing the learning processes and breakdowns in these processes began to appear regularly in professional journals. In these publications, the learning difficulties of children were discussed in conjunction with their social and cultural backgrounds.

Two scholars who emphasized this "whole child" approach examined different aspects of minority learning problems. Rosalie Cohen (1969) discussed the subject in terms of conceptual styles and cultural conflict, while Allan Cohen (1966) turned to an analysis of learning disabilities in disadvantaged Puerto Rican and Negro children. The latter study was extended and refined later on by Arnold & Wist (1970) who investigated auditory discrimination abilities in disadvantaged Anglo-American and Mexican children.

At the same time, public interest turned to a consideration of bilingual-bicultural instruction as a potential means of solving the academic difficulties of children with limited English ability. This new educational orientation gave rise to a number of articles which were not only concerned with the learning problems, intelligence, and social disadvantage of bilingual children, but also with the development of programs suited to the special needs of these students. Fischer (1976) published the results of an investigation he had conducted on the non-intellectual attributes of first-grade children in a bilingual-bicultural program; and Grotberg (1965) described remediation procedures used in public schools for learning disabled disadvantaged children.

The latter study reported that disadvantaged students generally achieved lower IQ scores than other youngsters as measured by standardized tests, but that these scores could be increased to some extent through the use of special enrichment programs for parents and children. Nevertheless, the original findings of the study remained constant, for disadvantaged children did

not succeed in matching the achievement of their more favored peers on IQ tests, even when culture-fair tests were utilized.

According to Grotberg (1965), the lower achievement of disadvantaged children could be ascribed in part to the potential conflicts between the nonstandard language patterns acquired by them in the home at a young age, and those of the standard form of English spoken in school. These linguistic conditions noted by Grotberg are particularly significant in the area of special education, for exceptionality in disadvantaged students has been found reflected in noticeable communication handicaps--a restricted use of language, a non-standard language development, and/or an underdeveloped language. Once these learning disabilities have been identified among disadvantaged children, however, they may be remediated through guidance programs, special materials (remedial and developmental) and instruction handled by specially trained teachers.

Three other studies concerned with the linguistic factor in testing were reported on in the sixties: those of Kittell (1962), Peal and Lambert (1962), and Arnold (1969), who discussed the achievements of bilingual students on intelligence tests.

The findings reported by Peal and Lambert are particularly interesting for they constitute a reversal of those obtained in earlier studies. The target group selected by the investigators consisted of boys and girls attending French schools in Montreal, Canada; each of these children was subjected to five testing sessions, each of which lasted one hour. The measurement devices utilized by the examiners were the Word Association Test, the Word Deletion Test, and the Peabody Picture Vocabulary Test. A comparison of the scores achieved by bilingual children with those of monolingual students revealed that, in direct contradiction to previous research, bilingual children performed significatnly better than their monolingual peers on both the non-verbal and verbal tests. On the

basis of these results, Peal and Lambert theorized that experience with a two-language system apparently endowed these children with a greater mental flexibility, keener ability in concept formation and a more diversified set of mental abilities than could be developed through the use of a single language. These intellectual advantages were also found reflected in the academic achievement of bilingual children whose scholastic performance was noted to surpass those of other youngsters.

The conclusions of the Peal and Lambert investigation were later confirmed by another scholar, Bowd (1974) who administered tests of verbal ability and non-verbal intelligence to two groups (one bilingual, and one monolingual) of 12-14 year old Canadian Indian boys. The results showed that the bilingual group had scored significantly higher than the monolingual group in non-verbal intelligence. Bowd indicated that such favorable outcomes could logically be expected to result from the diversified intellectual basis provided by a knowledge of two language systems.

Some of the evidence collected by researchers on the differential intellectual skills of various ethnoracial and other groups has been controversial in nature. Some years ago, Lesser, Fiferand Clark (1965) investigated the range and variations of mental abilities in children from different cultural groups and social classes. The study was carried out in New York City schools and measured four mental abilities (verbal skills, reasoning, number facility and space conceptualization) in first grade children from four cultural communities (Chinese, Jewish, Negro and Puerto Rican). Each cultural group was in turn, divided into two subgroups, according to the socioeconomic backgrounds of the students. In the interpretation of results, the researchers considered three variables--social class, cultural background and sex differences. They discovered that ethnic affiliation did produce differences in the patterns of tested mental abilities, and that socioeconomic background affected the level, though

not the pattern of these abilities. Some of their specific findings were that Oriental children performed well in spatial orientation, but tested below white American norms on verbal skills; that Jewish children were generally superior in verbal ability; that Black children did poorly in spatial functions; and that Puerto Rican children showed greatest weakness in verbal skills. In conclusion, the researchers pointed to the importance of constructing suitable testing procedures for culturally diverse children in order to obtain an accurate measurement of their abilities and to provide them with an appropriate education. The original Lesser study was replicated by Stodolski and Lesser (1967) with children of different cultural groups, and the results confirmed the findings of the earlier investigation that ethnicity did determine the configuration of mental abilities of children as a result of their being raised in a culturally conditioned environment.

Attributes other than mental abilities in linguistically and culturally different children have captured the interest of educators in recent years. One area of crosscultural investigation which has received considerable attention is that of learning processes. Within this field, Laosa, Swartz, and DiazGuerrero (1974) studied the perceptual-cognitive and personality developments of Mexican and Anglo-American children as revealed in their drawings. A higher degree of sex differentiation was found in the work of Mexican students than in that produced by their Anglo-American counterparts. The researchers concluded that this tendency probably reflected the emphasis placed on the male role and "machismo" in Mexican society.

A twenty-six month follow-up study conducted by Killian (1971) tested a group of seventy-five Anglo and Spanish-American students with the Wechsler Intelligence Scale for Children, the Illinois Test of Psycholinguistic Abilities and the Bender Visual Motor Gestalt Test. The researcher's conclusion that Hispanic youngsters did not appear to be deficient in perceptual

organization has implications for Special Education, for it may be assumed on the basis of Killian's findings that Spanish-speaking boys and girls will not show perceptual deficiencies on a test unless they are, indeed, perceptually impaired. This assumption was substantiated by the results of an investigation conducted by Philippus (1967) on test prediction for academic success among Hispano-American students. According to this scholar, one of the most accurate predictors of school success for these children was the Raven Progressive Matrices, because the test enabled them to utilize their perceptual motor skills to perform the required verbal tasks. In this respect, then, the Phillippus conclusions can be seen as reinforcing those of Lesser, Fiferand Clark concerning the verbal abilities of Puerto Rican children.

In summarizing recent findings on the characteristics and performance of bilingual children in school, it is significant to note that bilingualism has been primarily identified by scholars as a detrimental factor with respect to performance on verbal intelligence tests given in the second language, though not with respect to performance on non-verbal tests. However, two exceptions are worthy of note in this area. Peal and Lambert (1962) argued against the negative "verbal" findings and demonstrated that bilingual youngsters performed better than monolinguals on both verbal and nonverbal tests; they suggested that this superior achievement was related to the diversified mental abilities developed by bilingual speakers as a result of their dual linguistic knowledge. Bowd (1974) concurred with this opinion, citing the same reason as Peal and Lambert--diversified mental skills-- for the superior IQ scores obtained by the bilingual children tested in his study.

As far as Hispanic students are concerned, the contradictory findings of the Peal and Bowd studies are not as startling as they may first appear to be. Both projects differed from other reported research in two major respects: they were located in Canada

and not in the United States, and neither involved Spanish-speakers. Under the circumstances, their significance cannot be extended to other target geographical areas and populations without further research.

What the accumulated evidence of other investigations has revealed is that there is a danger inherent to the use of IQ and other measurement devices when they are given in English to a target population consisting of non-, or limited English speakers, since the results tend to discriminate against testees who are linguistically and culturally different. Under the circumstances, any educational decision based on such biased results must be considered tentative and subject to rigorous verification.

LINGUISTIC AND CULTURAL BIAS IN TESTING SPANISH-SPEAKING CHILDREN

The statistics reported by Mercer (1972), Hill (1975), and other scholars on the disproportionate number of Hispanic boys and girls placed in classes for the retarded illustrate the inadequacy of standard referral procedures when applied to minority students in public schools. Unfortunately, the price of such inadequacy comes high in terms of wasted human potential, and each year, countless children are subjected to irreparable psychological and educational damages as a result of their misassignment to Special Education.

With respect to the testing programs currently used in schools, there is considerable evidence that significant linguistic and cultural biases exist in the measurement instruments and procedures used to evaluate Spanish-speaking children. Documentation published in the last decade include a number of noteworthy studies which are reported in this sectio

A survey made by Kobrick (1972) in the Southwest indicated that the placement of Mexican-American students into Special Education classes was based on IQ tests administered in English, a language in which the children did not function proficiently. Bryen (1974) addressed the same problem and demonstrated that a disproportionate number of minority group children were being placed in special classes on the strength of scores derived from linguistically and culturally biased placement tests.

Another researcher, Mercer (1972), identified another factor contributing to the discriminatory pattern of Hispanic student evaluation and placement in Special Education programs--the clinicians' tendency to overlook the effect of sociocultural variables in their assessment of IQ scores.

Mercer's findings concerning the bias inherent to the human factor in test administration were confirmed by two other studies. One was a survey of current research conducted by Rosenthal (1966) which led him to conclude that a subject's performance could be markedly influenced by a wide range of subtle and non-verbal cues, including the physical and psychological attributes of the examiner. The other study was carried out by Thomas, Hertzig, and Fernandez (1971) who discovered that examiner variables, such as style of test administration, bilingualism and ethnic group membership, affected the achievement of Spanish-speaking children on tests.

This evidence was highlighted in the recent Task Force 9 report (1976) which identified the examiner's intrinsic bias as a prejudicial factor against nondiscriminatory testing, capable of overcoming culture-fairness in the tests themselves.

Sabatino (1973), collected data on the special class placement of minority students and on the difficulties of testing children with a native language other than English. His investigation showed that

successful test-taking (in English) depended on central information processing variables which required a knowledge of linguistic rules in English not necessarily possessed by bilingual speakers. Furthermore there was no guarantee that these testing problems would be eliminated through the translation of test items into the child's native language or through the administration of nonverbal tests. To overcome these difficulties, Sabatino recommended that bilingual individuals with behavioral management skills be recruited to improve psychoeducational assessment, and that parents be involved in Special Education placement procedures.

The translation problem identified by Sabatino was also noted by Swanson and DeBlassie (1971) who compared the scores of a group of Mexican-American first graders on a Wechsler Intelligence Scale for Children (WISC) given by an Anglo-American examiner with the help of a Spanish interpreter, to those of another matched group on the same test given only in English. They found that the first group did not perform significantly better than the second group.

Meeker and Meeker (1973), who analyzed intelligence testing for minority children, concluded that the measurement devices used for this purpose contained cultural biases which penalized seriously members of non-Anglo, lower socio-economic groups. Their findings were based on the administration of the Stanford-Binet test to two hundred fifty seven Black Anglo- and Mexican-American boys. A comparative analysis of test results led the researchers to question certain aspects of the test design, namely deficiencies in intelligence testing, cultural bias, construct validity, and diagnostic utility. Accordingly, they recommended that the use of such group tests be discontinued for the assessment of minority children. This recommendation was substantiated by the results of a study conducted by Green and Draper (1972), who tested three disadvantaged minority

groups--northern urban Black, southern rural Black and southwestern Mexican-Americans--and compared their scores to those of white students from an advantaged background. The data collected by these researchers on minority test performances brought out the presence of bias in achievement testing.

These findings were further reinforced and expanded by Zirkel (1972) in a review of research concerned with standardized testing. The survey uncovered evidence to the effect that standardized intelligence and achievement instruments presented cultural and psychological difficulties for Spanish-speaking children in terms of such intervening variables as the language of the administrator, the extent of the verbal factor in the test, and the ethnic background of the administrator. The investigator concluded that there was a need to modify

> the use of IQ tests on Spanish-speaking children and to revamp them to utilize the language and cultural background in order to facilitate the assessment of their academic abilities. As in the case of IQ testing, on the standardized achievement tests, the verbal factor can undermine the performance of these children. Those subtests dependent on English language skills usually result in poor performance, generally indicating a handicap in language ability rather than in learning ability. (p. 32-34)

Gonzalez (1974) concurred with Zirkel that the integration of appropriate language characteristics into educational assessment devices could reduce their bias against culturally different children, but he cautioned that these measures would not eliminate the cultural bias inherent to the anglocentric values and

ideals embodied in the tests. He suggested that both intelligence scores and behavioral observations be considered in evaluating minority children.

Other procedures were suggested by Green (1972) to alleviate the social and ethnic bias found in tests of achievement; they included the following recommendations: (1) that community input be secured for test construction through the use of item writers and educators representing all major ethnic and cultural groups; and (2) that criterion-referenced tests be designed to assess accurately the extent of pupil learning.

After reviewing the contents, norms, procedures, and language usage of IQ tests, Barnes (1973) noted the bias of these instruments against minority children, and stressed the advisability of replacing these instruments with more valuable, non discriminatory measurement devices such as culture-specific or criterion-referenced tests, particularly in view of the role played by intelligence test scores in determining the nature of a teacher's mental set toward the students.

Other research related to bias in standardized tests administered to Spanish-speakers addressed the problems arising from the relationship of language and culture. Matluck and Mace (1973) initiated this line of investigation when they pointed to the language characteristics of Mexican-American children as an interference factor in testing, and indicated that the latters' lack of understanding of the standard English found in such instruments was a primary cause of their poor performance on the tests.

Hickey (1972) further clarified the bias issue by examining the problems of measuring intelligence and verbal learning ability among Mexican-American pre-school children by means of the Peabody Picture Vocabulary Test. An analysis of the results revealed that culturally conditioned structural and idiomatic differences between English and Spanish made it nearly

impossible for Mexican-American students to answer 25% of the test items, thereby insuring their lower scores on the test.

Jensen (1973) also tested the culture-fairness of the Peabody Picture Vocabulary Test (PPVT) in conjunction with Raven's Progressive Matrices by administering both instruments to White, Black, and Chicano children in California. In the Mexican group, Jensen's expectations regarding culture bias were substantiated.

Finally recently, Gerken (1978) investigated the relative effectiveness of the Leiter International Performance Scale (LIPS) and the Wechsler Preschool Performance and Primary Scale (WPPSI) in meaning the IQ's of Mexican-American children. He found that the students obtained higher IQ scores on both the LIPS (a nonverbal scale with nonverbal directions) and the WPPSI performance scales (a nonverbal scale with verbal directions), than they did on the WPPSI verbal scale (a verbal scale with verbal directions) or on the WPSSI full scale.

If one major conclusion can be drawn from the experiences reported in the literature on the biases inherent to available assessment devices, it is that educational testing, as we know it today, is prejudiced in favor on non-minority children. Even tests which had been thought of as relatively "culture-fair" up until recently have now been shown as subject to cultural influences likely to interfere with their assessing capacity in a crosscultural context. A case in point was the Peabody Picture Vocabulary Test, as was demonstrated by the Hickey study (1972).

Under the circumstances, the use of those meaning instruments which are now available on the market for the purpose of identifying the learning potential of minority children is a highly questionable practice which can only lead to miseducation and, in the long run result in the destruction of human potential.

TESTS RECOMMENDED FOR DIAGNOSING EXCEPTIONALITIES IN SPANISH-SPEAKING CHILDREN

Among those tests which have been utilized with some measure of success to diagnose exceptionalities in Spanish-speaking children are the following:

The Hiskey-Nebraska Test of Learning Aptitude (HNTLA)

The Bender Visual Motor Gestalt Test

Raven's Progressive Matrices

The Benton Revised Visual Retention Test

The Goodenough-Harris Draw-a-Person Test

The Developmental Test of Visual-Motor Integration

The Illinois Test of Psycholinguistic Abilities

The Hiskey-Nebraska Test of Learning Aptitude (HNTLA)

The Hiskey-Nebraska Test of Learning Aptitude (HNTLA) has been used recently by Peters (1979) with perceptually and neurologically impaired Spanish-speaking children in New Jersey for a dissertation study which is currently being completed. This instrument, originally designed for deaf children, was utilized by the researcher because it could be admin-

istered without verbal instructions, and because its success with culturally different children had already been demonstrated by other scholars.

Vasa (1971) compared the effectiveness of the WISC and HNTLA with groups of Mexican-American bilingual children, and found that a closer relationship existed between the performance scales of these two tests than between their verbal scales. This finding appeared to be more consistently true in the case of younger children who had not been exposed to as much English in the schools as older children.

Waugh and Bush (1971) reported that the HNTLA would be useful in the identification of learning disabled children. However, they recommend that this device be utilized in conjunction with IQ tests, such as the Stanford-Binet or the WISC.

The results of the Peters study now being carried out in New Jersey with bilingual students should enable the researcher to determine whether or not the HNTLA can provide an accurate measurement of the native intellectual potential of Spanish-speaking children and, therefore, whether it should or should not be recommended for use in the assessment of those students for Special Education.

The Bender Visual Motor Gestalt Test

The Bender Visual Motor Gestalt Test has been used widely to identify brain injury and other exceptionalities in all children. Its popularity is due primarily to the facts that it represents an enjoyable experience for most youngsters, and, at the same time, yields a considerable quantity of information in a very short span of time. In this test, a number of designs are presented to the student who is instructed to reproduce them while looking at them. Since these instructions can be given in any language, the lin-

extensively for this purpose was Koppitz (1962). As a result of this experience, she developed a scoring method which continues to be generally in use today--the Koppitz Developmental Method. Commenting on her findings, Koppitz (1963) stated:

> It seems safe, therefore, to conclude that brain injured children as a group tend to do poorly on the Bender Test regardless of their IQ scores ...Usually a good Bender record indicates the probability of at least average IQ scores for brain injured children. (p. 83)

Normative data for the Koppitz scoring system were derived from one thousand four public school children from ages five to ten and eleven months. The sample was taken from forty-six classes in twelve different schools, which were located in urban, suburban, small town and rural areas of both the Eastern United States and the Midwest. The Bender Test was administered individually to each of these children. The results indicated that girls tended to mature earlier than boys in visual-motor perception (this factor was taken into consideration in the establishment of the norms). In no other respect and at no age were the mean differences between girls and boys statistically significant.

At age nine, most normal children are able to execute the Bender Test without serious errors. However one should remember that it is not only the child's score on the Bender Gestalt which may reveal the presence of neurological impairment, but other aspects of his performance as well--his overall behavior during the examination, the time he spent on the tasks, and his attitude and approach to the test itself. Furthermore, a marked discrepancy must be found between the child's Bender record and his mental

guistic barrier associated with the testing of Spanish-speaking children can be eliminated through the use of a bilingual test administrator. At this point, the possibility of a cultural interference factor being present in the Bender Test has yet to be investigated.

Several studies have shown that the Bender Test can differentiate between children who are neurologically impaired and those who are not. Among these studies were those conducted by McConnell (1967), Smith and Martin (1967), Wagner (1969), Wiener (1966) and Wewetzer (1959) in Germany. However it is important to bear in mind that no test is infallible. The mere fact that children who are neurologically impaired tend to obtain poor Bender records, is no guarantee that all neurologically impaired boys and girls will automatically experience difficulty with this instrument. Other problems affecting visual-motor perception and impulse control, which may often be associated with neurological impairment, can also be diagnosed at times with the Bender. It is therefore, advisable to use other measurement devices concurrently with this test in order to insure diagnostic validity in the determination of neurological impairment and other exceptionalities.

Among scholars who have analyzed the effectiveness of the Bender test in diagnosing neurological impairment were Chorost, Spivack and Levine (1959) who compared the errors made by children on the test with the EEG abnormalities noted in their neurological examinations. These rotation errors were also studied by Halpin (1955) and Hanvick (1953), and another application of the Bender Test was researched by Shaw and Cruikshank (1956) who used it with epileptic children. In these studies, the results led to one unanimous conclusion--that the Bender Visual Motor Gestalt Test constituted a reliable device for the identification of neurologically impaired students.

One investigator who used the Bender Gestalt Test

age (not his chronological age) before a tentative conclusion may be reached concerning a potential diagnosis of neurological impairment. Indeed, the Bender Gestalt Test can be a most useful tool in the identification of such exceptionalities, but only insofar as it is utilized accurately and without sole reliance upon scores, to the exclusion of other factors deemed significant by experienced test administrators.

The Raven Progressive Matrices

The Raven Progressive Matrices (Raven, 1941) do not constitute a test of "general" intelligence per se, although the scale correlates with the results of the Stanford-Binet test at a significant level (.85). What the matrices identify is an individual's capacity for intellectual activity, as well as his ability to reason by analogy. Through the use of this test, discrepancies between a person's capacity for productive thinking and his recall of information may be addressed. The Raven Matrices may be administered at all ages, beginning with age three.

The instrument itself consists of three sets of twelve problems, each of which requires the student to select the missing parts in various designs. The errors made by the individual on the test are subsequently analyzed by the examiner. The results obtained on Raven's Progressive Matrices are often supplemented by administering a Gestalt Test, a Block Design Test, and a Sorting Test as well.

While the reliability and validity of Raven's Progressive Matrices (Psychological Corporation, 1963) show some inconsistencies and their claimed "culture fairness" is not supported by published evidence, the instrument does possess a unique value in that it represents an attempt to appraise the general ability factor in an individual--the g-factor as it was

labeled by Spearman.

With respect to the identification of exceptionalities, Raven's Progressive Matrices provide a nonverbal means of testing a child's accuracy of discrimination, and his ability to abstract and analogize--functions which neurologically impaired youngsters are frequently unable to perform. This observation was made in a number of studies conducted in England, and which were reported on by Burke (1959). It was also noted by Shapiro (1954) who drew attention to this phenomenon, as it manifested itself in the perceptual field of neurologically impaired persons.

According to the author of the test (Raven, 1941), the mental processes highlighted in the Matrices are integrating and analytical operations which he called "insight through visual survey." Because language is kept at a minimum in the instructions, the Raven test is generally considered a valuable tool of assessment for such target populations as linguistically and culturally different or verbally handicapped children.

The Benton Revised Visual Retention Test

The Benton Visual Retention Test (Benton, 1963) is standardized for children who are eight years old and older (other age equivalencies are also available); its retest reliability is .85 (between Forms A & B).

The normative standards for Administration A were based on the performance of over six hundred subjects (children and adults) who showed no evidence of psychosis, no evidence of cerebral palsy or disease (except in mentally defective subjects) and no serious physical depletion resulting from a disease. Most of the children tested in the sample were in schools and most of the mentally defective adults were patients in a State Hospital.

With normal children, performance on Administration Form A correlates relatively highly with intelligence level; the correlation coefficient between standard intelligence test scores and those of the Benton Test is .7. There is also a relationship between a child's Benton scores and his chronological age.

The test consists of ten designs which are presented to the student for a limited period of time, and which he is subsequently asked to reproduce from memory. The performance of these tasks involves such skills as spatial perception, immediate recall, and visuomotor reproduction of drawings.

With respect to the linguistic and cultural interference factors which may be associated with the Benton Test, it should be noted that the observations made earlier in the review of the Bender Gestalt Test are equally valid for both instruments. It is because of its ability to differentiate between several types of visual impairment that the Benton Test is often administered to children already diagnosed as learning disabled for the purpose of identifying their specific problems (visuoconstructive abilities, visual memory, or visual perception).

In reviewing the test results, the scorer should not allow himself to be influenced by the aesthetic quality of the design executed by the student. It is not the child's ability to draw which is being tested, but strictly his ability to retain and reproduce a visual impression. An examiner's attention must, therefore, be restricted to the six major errors which can be made by an individual in the performance of the assigned tasks: omissions, distortions, perseverations, rotations, misplacements and size errors.

From an educational standpoint, several studies have been conducted on the use of the Benton Visual Retention Test with neurologically impaired children. Among them were the investigations carried out by

Benton and Spreen (1961); Fogel (1963); L'Abate, Boelling, Hutton and Mathew (1962); Rowley and Baer (1961) and Wahler (1956). Their research findings indicated that the instrument diagnosed neurological impairment more sharply among adults than it did among children. Nevertheless, the value of this instrument with respect to neurologically impaired children should not be underestimated. Quite often, the intellectual potential of a child suffering from language difficulties is underrated when an IQ test of a Binet type is utilized and, conversely, a "verbal" child frequently fails to reveal his visuoperceptive errors on that type test. On the Benton, however, normal children seldom perform with more than a 4% defective score, while neurologically impaired children generally show a range between 25% defective, and 55% borderline scores, and children who possess superior intelligence usually produce above average scores. However, some caution should be exercised in the interpretation of Benton ratings, and any judgment of "impairment" cannot be justifiably rendered unless the child's score is below normal expectations for his chronological age.

The Goodenough Harris Draw-A-Person Test (Goodenough, 1926)

This test is intended to assess a child's intelligence through his drawing of a human being; it may be used with youngsters from three and one half to thirteen and one half years of age. As was the case for the Benton Test, the testee's performance is not scored for its aesthetic achievement but for its inclusion of essential details in the drawing.

The reliability coefficients on this test range from .75 to .90; however, its results do not appear to correlate well with those of other measurement devices used to evaluate general ability among children.

The Koppitz Developmental Scoring System (Koppitz, 1968) applied to the Goodenough test has been remarkably useful in pinpointing areas which indicate neurological impairment in children. This system is based on the consistent recurrence of several characteristics in the drawings made by neurologically impaired children, namely: omission of body, omission of pupils, omission of neck, omission of two dimensions of arms (stick arms), arms not pointing downward (arms horizontal or up), arms incorrectly attached at shoulder, omission of hands, incorrect number of fingers, omission of two dimensions on legs (stick legs), less than two items of clothing for children under 12, or less than four items of clothing for children 12 or over.

A number of scholars have investigated the use of human figure drawings in the identification of neurologically impaired children. As early as 1935 Berrien (1935) found the drawings of patients suffering encephalitis to be inconsistent in quality and primitive in nature. Later on, Buck (1948), and Jolles (1952) pointed to the presence of organic signs as indications of impairment. Vernier (1952) and Machover (1953) reviewed and tested these "organic indicators" to facilitate subsequent investigations. The latter also suggested that these indicators might not necessarily be related to neurological disorders, but might also be associated with mental retardation. The lists prepared by Vernier and Machover were utilized by Reznikoff and Tomblen (1956) in a research study which tested and confirmed the existence of fourteen of the organic indicators in the human figures drawn by neurologically impaired children.

Special Education specialists have suggested that the Draw-a-Person test could be diagnostically more useful when used in combination with the Bender Gestalt Test or as part of a test battery than when administered alone. This is particularly true in the case of Spanish-speaking students who may be reluctant to perform the assigned task (drawing a human figure), as was noted in the Anastasi study (1953)

and whose performance may be affected by their negative reaction. Until the interference factor encountered by Anastasi has been investigated, it would seem advisable to avoid using all tests founded on human figure drawing in the evaluation of Puerto Rican children and probably in that of all Spanish-speaking students as well.

The Developmental Test of Visual-Motor Integration

In selecting a test to assess visual-motor integration in children, consideration is usually given to the highly publicized and often misused Frostig Developmental Test of Visual Motor Integration. Recently, however, specialists in the evaluation of learning disabilities have turned to another instrument developed by Beery and Buktenica (1966) to answer the same purpose. As of now, however, the validation and reliability norms for the Developmental Test of Visual-Motor Integration are not as yet fully developed. The only validity evidence reported is a correlation of .89 between scores on the VMI test and chronological age. No reliability evidence is given in the administration and scoring manual.

The test was standardized with a group of one thousand thirty-nine children aged five - thirteen from schools in Illinois, Over half of the population sample was derived from suburban districts, the remainder came from rural and urban areas. For this reason and although the test was purportedly designed for children between two and eight years of age, evaluation specialists seem to feel that it may not be useful in assessing the abilities of those who are younger than four years of age. For these youngsters, they recommended that the Frostig test be utilized.

The VMI test may be administered individually or in a group. Its construction in terms of methodological procedures and underlying theoretical consider-

ations appears to be sound. Scoring, however, does present problems in that it relies partly upon the examiner's subjective judgment.

The Beery-Buktenica test has both a short and a long form. The latter consists of twenty-four geometric shapes and the former contains only fifteen such shapes. These designs, which become increasingly difficult as the test progresses, are to be copied by the child in the same booklet where they are presented. The score of the examinee is based on the number of shapes he reproduces correctly before making three consecutive mistakes.

Buktenica (1966) and Beery (1967) both worked on the Developmental Test. Georgas (1969) tried it with Greek children to test its effectiveness, and Giles (1969) used it successfully in the research which formed the basis of her doctoral dissertation of fine motor development. Finally, Bryant (1970) developed norms for the mentally retarded which were based on their scores on the Developmental Test. This same instrument has been included in the battery selected by Peters (1978) for her current study of neurologically impaired Spanish-speaking children.

In view of the scarcity of available data on the Developmental Test of Visual-Motor Integration, no significant comment may be made at the present time concerning its fairness to culturally different children.

The Illinois Test of Psycholinguistic Abilities (ITPA)

The Illinois Test of Psycholinguistic Abilities (Kirk et al, 1968) has been consistently identified as a good measure of learning processes in children. Extensive research has been carried out by various scholars on the use of this test with normal and other children of diverse backgrounds, and the find-

ings indicate that the instrument is sensitive to differences in socioeconomic status, cultural affiliation and minority group membership. Some of the most significant studies related to the use of the ITPA are reported below with emphasis on those concerned with bilingual populations.

McCarthy and Olsen (1964) did research on the predictive validity of the ITPA for academic performance. Their sample controlled social class but included only Caucasian children between ninety months and one hundred eight months of age, with IQ's between eighty and one hundred twenty; there were no serious sensory or physical handicaps among them. When the raw scores on the ITPA were correlated with the criterion tests (Stanford Achievement and Durrell-Sullivan Reading tests), the researchers obtained a high correlation on the Total Score, the Auditory Vocal Association, the Auditory Vocal Automatic, the Auditory Vocal Sequential and the Visual Motor Sequential subtests.

Webb (1968) used the ITPA test to compare the achievements of twenty Anglo-American, with those of twenty Black, and twenty Latin-American children. The results indicated that, for all three groups, deficits existed in the area of auditory-vocal performance, while strengths were noted in the completion tasks involving visual-motor ability. The Anglo-American children scored generally higher than did the Latin-American children; however, no significant differences were recorded between the achievement of Black students and those of Anglo-American youngsters.

Lombardi (1970) selected the revised edition of the ITPA to investigate the psycholinguistic abilities of eighty Papago Indian children. The results indicated that these youngsters achieved at a lower level than the standardization group in all subtests, with the exception of the Visual Sequential Memory Test on which they performed significantly better than the original sample.

McCarron (1971) compared the psycholinguistic abilities of Mexican-American, with those of Black and Caucasian children enrolled in the first grade. The Hispanic group consistently scored high on the visual input subtests.

While the four studies described above dealt with groups of students enrolled in regular classes, two other investigations assessed the relative effectiveness of the Illinois Test of Psycholinguistic Abilities with exceptional, as opposed to "normal" children. The targets of a research conducted by Jorstad (1971) were twenty learning disabled (i.e. below average achievement) Mexican-American children; their performance revealed deficiencies in almost all auditory areas.

Kuske (1969) analyzed the ITPA scores of three groups of children: fifty mentally handicapped Sioux Indians, fifty non-mentally handicapped Sioux Indians, and fifty mentally handicapped non-Indians. Based on mental age, but not on chronological age, he found that the mentally handicapped Indians performed considerably better than their non-mentally handicapped peers on visual association and visual sequential memory. The non-mentally handicapped group showed superiority in sound blending.

It should be noted that at the kindergarten level, the Total Language Score of the ITPA has proved to be as valid a predictor as the Stanford-Binet IQ test for school achievement, and that performance on the ITPA at the automatic sequential level is related to performance on all seven of the CAT achievement variables (Hirshoren, 1969). For these reasons, the Illinois instrument has achieved considerable popularity with educational practitioners and researchers. With respect to Spanish-speaking children, however, the evidence points to the existence of cultural interference in at least some of the sub-tests. Additional research is, therefore, needed to identify those factors and/or establish new norms specific to cultural communities other than the mainstream group.

*INTELLIGENCE TESTS AND SPANISH-SPEAKING EXCEPTIONAL CHILDREN**

The Concept of Intelligence

Over the years, definite changes have taken place in the opinions of professional educators concerning the nature of intelligence tests, the mental abilities they actually measure, and the stability of their results over time.

Wechsler (1954) defined intelligence operationally as the aggregate or global capacity of the individual to act purposefully, to think rationally, and to deal effectively with his environment. (p. 3)

Later on, Freeman (1962) stated that intelligence could be categorized into three groups: 1) the adjustment or adaptation of the individual to his total environment, 2) the individual's ability to learn, 3) the individual's ability to carry on abstract thinking.

More recently, Guilford (1967) further revolutionized educational thinking by describing the structure of human intellect as consisting of four major categories--cognition and memory, convergent thinking, divergent thinking, and valuation.

On the whole, scholars tend to agree that intelligence is linked to a person's innate ability as well as to his experiences. The now acknowledged existence of these combined genetic and environmental factors raise some agonizing questions with regard to IQ measurement and to educational decisions based on such

*See Appendix E for a comprehensive list of tests used for evaluation purposes.

evaluations, particularly insofar as atypical (i.e. non-mainstream group) children are concerned. As Dunlap (1975) has pointed out, however, even those students who belong to the majority, middle-class culture are not entirely exempt from the bias factors intrinsic to IQ measurement, since the contents of these tests include a large number of items which test only cognition (some 40% of the test) and not those other intellectual categories identified by Guilford. Such cognitive weighting automatically results in a nearly total disregard of such abilities as creativity or leadership skills in the evaluation of an individual's potential.

Since all intelligence tests measure only a sampling of a human being's abilities, the IQ scores thus obtained are subject to variations. They may change as the child grows older and more experienced; they may even be "artificially" raised to a significant degree by means of superficial techniques. In one case, it was reported by Sheppard (1965) that the scores of some students were increased by eleven points as a result of a few hours' familiarization with test items. The same scholar also recorded the incredible effect of special psychotherapeutic and Special Education techniques on the measured IQ's of mentally retarded children, which yielded an increase of some forty points over a period of three years (Sheppard, 1965). Such research findings have now succeeded in discrediting thoroughly the long-held erroneous notion of a static IQ.

Types of Intelligence Tests

Intelligence tests which are commonly in use today may be grouped into three categories, according to different sets of standards. One group differentiates between those instruments which can be administered to an entire class at the same time (group tests) and those which must be given individually (individual

tests). Another variety stresses the selected medium of communication, separating language from non-language tests. The third category classifies IQ tests in proportion to their degrees of cultural specificity (with reference to the dominant white, middle-class, Anglo-Saxon culture); accordingly, IQ tests may be either culture-bound or culture-fair. At one time, it was thought that "culture-free" measurement devices could be developed, but experimentation with various tests and cultural groups has demonstrated the futility of such expectations. The relative effectiveness of these three types of tests with respect to Spanish-speaking exceptional children will be discussed in this section.

Intelligence Testing

Most of the standardized tests (IQ and others) which are available on the market today discriminate against children who are not members of the dominant community, for their norms are based on variables (sex, age, SES) which totally ignore the cultural backgrounds of other youngsters. The problem is considerably aggravated when the tested population consists of exceptional/or potentially exceptional learners.

Once the norming problem has been recognized, other factors may be taken into consideration for the selection of an instrument likely to produce satisfactory results with minority students. For example, group tests are not an acceptable means of evaluation for exceptional learners; they are even less so when these students are Spanish-speakers for whom English is a foreign language. Group tests sample a limited range of behaviors and require all children to listen attentively, to follow directions carefully, and to perform within strict time limitations. All too often, under normal circumstances, a Spanish child is unable to read test directions or to understand them even when the words are familiar to him. In addition, if the test relies heavily on verbal directions, or the test

items are geared to the Anglo-American middle-class culture, a Hispanic student may understand only a portion of the directions, misinterpret some of the concepts, or spend too much time on each item to achieve an acceptable score.

When a child is emotionally disturbed, socially maladjusted or learning disabled, he is apt to become confused or distracted, upset and hyperactive in any testing situation. If he is mentally retarded, he might not even understand what he is being asked to do. If he is deaf, hard of hearing, or communications handicapped in any way, the examiner's words may not even register in his mind. Not unexpectedly, then, these youngsters do very poorly on intelligence tests, whether the latter are administered individually or to a group. And, whenever these disabilities are combined in a child with the linguistic and cultural handicaps normally experienced by foreign speakers, the testing situation becomes truly a nightmare for him.

INTELLIGENCE TESTING, EXCEPTIONALITIES, AND SPANISH-SPEAKING CHILDREN

Emotionally Disturbed and Socially Maladjusted Children

At first glance, research would seem to indicate that a relationship exists between emotional problems and intelligence. Bower (1960) noted that emotionally handicapped children achieved consistently lower than other youngsters on IQ tests. His findings coincide with those of Rogers, Lilienfield, and Pasamanick (1954); they were later confirmed by Woody (1968) who reported significantly lower scores for youngsters with behavioral problems than for other learners on the WISC. However, these results were contradicted by those of another study conducted by Vane, Weitzmand and Applebaum (1966) who found no difference

between the scores of disturbed and non-disturbed children on the Stanford-Binet.

On the basis of these findings, it would be difficult to draw definite conclusions regarding a potential relationship between emotional disturbance and level of intelligence. According to Hewett (1974) the problem is not so much a lack, or a lesser level, of intelligence, as it is a malfunction of intellectual abilities caused by an emotional interference. His conclusion was supported by a number of studies which he cited in the following terms:

> Woody (1969) in a review of the research literature related to the academic functioning level of children with emotional and behavioral problems, concludes that there is consistent evidence indicating that such children do not perform in line with their intelligence (Fitzsimmons, 1958; Tamkin, 1960; Stone and Rowley, 1964; Woody, 1964, 1968). (p. 182)

It should be noted that the learning problems experienced by disturbed children are greatly intensified when the learners are of culturally and linguistically different backgrounds. Those difficulties are, in turn, reflected in their scholastic performance. In this respect, Taylor (1964) listed a number of factors which may be expected to affect a child's academic achievement; these factors were summarized as follows by Hewett (1974).

> the ability to handle or cope with anxiety, feelings of self-worth, conformity to the demands and requirements of authority figures, social acceptance by members of his peer group, the degree of conflict due to needs for independence and dependence, involvement in activities

related to academic goals, and
the realism of goals. (p. 182)

The very nature of the educational experience creates anxieties for the Spanish-speaking child and contributes to the development of his low self-esteem for, in school, he is required to conform to the demands of a society with behavioral standards alien to those of his home environment. The conflicts created for such a youngster by the necessity of reconciling the contradictory values of home and school in order to be accepted by his teachers and peers, as well as by his family are often insurmountable. They may trigger within him psychological disturbances which, despite their cultural origin, will cripple his ability to learn just as surely as if they were pathologically induced emotional or social maladjustments. The difficulty is that these different problems require different treatments but there is no test on the market today, capable of differentiating between an emotional behavior which is a response to enforced acculturation, one which is rooted in the learner's personality, and one which is a combination of both factors.

What complicates matters is the fact that not all children of similar cultural background react in the same manner under the same circumstances. Kessler (1966), for instance, noted in his study that the majority of underachievers in schools were boys. This situation is particularly prevalent among Spanish-speaking children who react differently in accordance with their sex to the ego-destroying atmosphere of the American classroom. Young "macho" Hispanic boys who feel emasculated by their academic difficulties and by the teacher's egalitarian treatment of all students, will soon rebel against their predicament in predictably unacceptable ways. But quiet, self-effacing Hispanic girls, who do not have to live up to masculine superiority standards, experience less difficulty than the boys do in meeting the teacher's expectations. Consequently, emotional disturbances tend to be less prevalent among them than among their male peers.

Learning Disabled and Communications Handicapped Children

Learning disabled children, according to McCarthy and McCarthy (1969), are not mentally retarded, and their IQ scores range from a low average to an average level on individual tests. These researchers indicate that it is through the discrepancies which occur in their test scores that educators are alerted to the potential presence of a learning disability. This viewpoint, however, was not shared by Myers and Hammill (1969) who stated that brain dysfunctions were not always manifested in this manner. Accordingly, they concluded that a diagnostic reliance on discrepancy patterns in IQ testing to identify learning disabilities would be highly questionable.

It has been noted that children who suffer from learning disabilities are frequently handicapped in their ability to think and communicate by means of linguistic symbols (McCarthy and McCarthy, 1969). This impairment is reflected in IQ scores which are lower than those of normal students on such tests as the Peabody Picture Vocabulary Test and the Illinois Test of Psycholinguistic Abilities (Dunn, 1959; Kirk, McCarthy and Kirk, 1968). More specifically, the four language skills areas usually affected by brain dysfunctions are: the receptive-visual function (oral comprehension); the receptive-visual function (written comprehension); the expressive-vocal function (spoken expression of thought); and the expressive-motor function (written expression of thought). They were identified by Myers and Hammill (1969). According to Cruickshank (1967), these conceptual problems experienced by learning disabled children may be related directly to a corresponding faulty development in their perceptual skills, thus resulting in a combined impairment of what Rappaport (1964) referred to as "integrative functioning." Because these handicaps frequently result in a delayed linguistic development or in a lack of language performance, students also

afflicted by such impairments may be classified into a special category labeled "Communications Handicapped."

When a Spanish-speaking student is suspected of belonging to this particular group, the Learning Disability Consultant or Psychologist, whose responsibility it is to evaluate the child and to prescribe an Individual Education Plan (IEP) for him, faces a dilemma which cannot be easily resolved. Does the learner's difficulty in speaking and understanding stem from a basic neurological dysfunction, or from his understandably minimal exposure to the English language? Or, is it perhaps a combination of both problems? In this case, the need to ascertain the actual cause of the handicap becomes of paramount importance for the child's future since the educational prescriptions associated with each identification (ESL problem versus communication impairment) are not interchangeably effective. Furthermore, the feelings and thoughts of the child must be considered. Whether or not he suffers from a learning disability other than an inadequate command of English, he is aware that both his parents and his teachers expect him to listen and to do what he is told to do, but he is unable to understand them or to make himself understood by them. What a terrible sense of helplessness he must experience in such a situation! Yet, the intensity of the child's anguish at being isolated from those around him cannot even be remotely compared to that of the harm he would suffer, should he ever be classified inaccurately and placed in an inappropriate instructional program to live in a perennial state of hopeless confusion.

Mentally Retarded Children

There appears to be considerable disagreement among researchers concerning the nature of mental retardation. Robinson and Robinson (1965) described the retarded as children who were mentally unable to

cope with the increasingly intellectual demands of the modern world. This new approach which tended to equate retardation with inferior intelligence was not shared by other researchers. Zeaman and House (1963), among others, asserted that in its mild and moderate forms this handicap did not affect all aspects of the intellectual process but interfered primarily with the early stages of learning--approaching a task and learning how to learn. Baumeister (1967) further noted that retarded students found some tasks--those requiring associative skills--more difficult to master than others--those involving the recall of series of items.

From an overall standpoint, there seems to exist two major schools of thought relative to mental retardation--one developmental, and the other difference-oriented (Zigler, 1969). Scholars who adhere to the former position, claim that mental retardates go through the same stages of cognitive development as do other children, but that these stages occur at a later age. On the other hand, those who support the difference theory believe that the central cognitive processes of those youngsters are not the same as those of other learners. At this point, the controversy has yet to be resolved.

A direct and tragic consequence of this professional confusion over the nature (and definition) of mental retardation can be observed in the abnormally frequent classification of Spanish-speaking children in this category because of their inability to perform up to the unrealistic language expectations of their Anglo teachers and examiners. Several studies have been mentioned earlier in support of this fact; they not only highlighted the communication breakdown between Hispanic students and their teachers as a cause of "exceptional mislabeling", but also cited as a contributing factor to this disgraceful situation the inadequacy of means available to educators for the evaluation of Hispanic students.

In an attempt to remedy the situation, the American Association of Mental Deficiency (AAMD) revised its classification system in 1973. Its major effect was to liberalize the statistical limits which had been previously established for the upper range of mental retardation, thereby preventing the potential misclassification of borderline cases. The change, however, did not improve the educational prospect of Spanish-speaking children who had already been misplaced in Special Education classes for some years, nor did it miraculously endow educators with an understanding of the linguistic and cultural variables which affect the academic performance of non-Anglo students in a testing or an instructional context.

In order to illustrate the problems related to the assessment of children who are linguistically and/or culturally different, an analysis of items included in tests commonly utilized in schools for evaluation purposes, and of their effect on Spanish-speaking learners has been included in Appendix E.

CHAPTER 3

Learning In A Dual Cultural Context

There is substantial evidence in published literature that educational institutions--their personnel, policies, curricula and philosophy of instruction are subject to a great many influences, most of which operate primarily at the unconcious level.

Katz (1971) raised questions concerning the covert functions of an educational system which he characterized in negative terms as bureaucratic, class-based and racist. These criticisms were expanded by Dickeman (1973) who claimed that schools were not only culturally biased, but also racist "by design" since their unacknowledged functions were (1) to provide children with common culture models to which they were expected to conform; (2) to convince them that their own sociocultural heritage did not count; (3) to predict their future status in society, and (4) to perpetuate the ethnoracial status quo of American society.

By virtue of their affiliation with the majority (white middle-class Anglo-Saxon) culture, and their indoctrination into the traditional school culture, teachers have a tendency to reject the non-conforming heritage and life-style of minority youngsters and to expect minimal academic achievement on their part (Leacock, 1969). These unconscious mental sets were studied by Yee (1974) in middle-class and lower-class schools, who found that the attitudes of the teacher and students toward each other were inextricably woven into the educational process and affected all classroom

interactions. He also reported that these attitudes tended to be considerably more positive in a middle-class setting than in a lower class environment. The favorable reaction noted by Yee in teachers toward children of their own socioeconomic group was confirmed in an investigation conducted by Feshback (1974) on the student personality characteristics preferred by the average public school educator. The most popular learners were those possessing the qualities of conformity, orderliness and rigidity; the least popular learners were depicted as independent, active and assertive.

Research findings on teacher-student interaction suggest that an educator's perception of a learner's achievement potential affects both the treatment, as well as the rate of response opportunities offered to children in class (Good, 1974). Furthermore, as Roy (1974) has shown in her study on teachers' perceptions of young Puerto Rican children, this perception is influenced by the perceiver's own cultural conditioning and the expectations of his/her socio-cultural group.

At the same time other investigations have revealed that the invisible, and unconsciously (sometimes, consciously) discriminatory activities of mainstream teachers vis-à-vis minority and other students are noted and internalized by them as differential signals of in-group or out-group membership (Cusick, 1973). Confirmation of in-group participation confers a sense of power upon the privileged, thereby motivating them to greater efforts in a learning situation; and, conversely, the cumulative negativeness of messages excluding some youngsters from the favored groups permeates them with an overwhelming sense of hopelessness and powerlessness which effectively destroys their motivation (Charnofsky, 1971; Friere, 1972).

The cycle of minority miseducation which, somehow, becomes initiated in the schools as a result of the interaction of multiple factors--both human and institutional--is particularly prominent in the area of Special Education because of the subjective, and therefore culturally-conditioned, aspects of the

referral and identification processes. The extent to which these cultural variables may interfere with Special Education Processes will depend upon the degree of variance existing between the expectations of the home and those of the school: the larger the number and range of behavioral discrepancies between these two institutions, the greater will be the opportunities for cultural conflicts between individuals.

In order to understand the nature of this cross-cultural problem, one must first become acquainted with the cultural milieu of the child and accept the existence of a dual cultural barrier in all teacher-student interactions involving children of different backgrounds. When a boy or girl comes to school, he/she brings to the classroom an entire range of experiences which are steeped in the values, customs, and beliefs of the family culture. At the same time, teachers also function in the instructional environment on the basis of internalized assumptions, attitudes, expectations and beliefs derived from their own cultural conditioning. In such a situation (which may be defined as a cross-cultural interaction) the background of each individual acts as a screen which distorts the meaning of exchanged messages. The conflicts resulting from these mutual cultural dissonances can only be resolved by one or both interacting individuals. And, in the classroom, the responsibility for overcoming the problem is clearly that of the teacher as the professionally trained adult in charge of the children's education.

SCHOOL CULTURE AND SPANISH-SPEAKING CHILDREN

A number of studies have been devoted by various scholars to the problems experienced by American teachers in their interactions with culturally-different students. One research, conducted by Bucchioni (1965), indicated that Anglo-American teachers' expectations of Spanish-speaking children did not coincide with the

latters' demonstrated behavior in school. Bucchioni suggested that, from the outset, teachers probably assumed automatically that unless their expectations were met--which they consider "right"--any alternative behavior exhibited by the students would be "wrong". The investigator concluded that educators established their own standards of behavior in the classroom culture, expecting the children to be guided by them in the socialization process; and that they did not tolerate any departure from these "acceptable" middle-class Anglo-American norms, often referring to these deviations in a derogatory manner.

The extent to which Spanish-speaking children are unprepared to function in the alien environment of the Anglo-American classroom may be estimated from what is reported of Hispanic family life styles in existing literature.

According to Fitzpatrick (1971), the Spanish child is taught strict obedience to his father, as head of the family, and submission to all authority figures. He is expected to respect his parents and elders, to defer to others as a matter of courtesy and consideration, to avoid direct confrontations and aggressive behavior; and to be helpful, dependent, and kind. Prior to the school experience, Hispanic youngsters are nurtured and protected in the bosom of an all-encompassing family and community, where all their physical and emotional needs are provided for, and where they are carefully guarded and "protected" from an "evil world". In return for this care, Spanish boys and girls learn that they must fulfill their responsibilities toward the extended family, and that their first duty is to the home and those who are related to them. This duty includes staying home from school to care for younger brothers or sisters, when it is required by the parents in whose eyes such an experience is a form of learning just as important as the formal education provided in the school (Castaneda, et al, 1975).

The Hispanic family atmosphere is a warm and gregarious one and, as such, conditions the child to develop certain expectations of convivial interpersonal behavior which he often finds missing in the impersonal environment of the traditional classroom. Not unexpectedly, then, Hispanic first graders find school somewhat cold and uninviting, and soon begin to sense that they have been transplanted into an alien, if not hostile environment. Nothing in their prior experiences has prepared them for this shock, and they search vainly for familiar cues that will enable them to act in an appropriate manner. What they do not realize, of course, is that the behavioral expectations of their teachers are quite different from, and in some cases contradictory to, those of their parents. In the academic setting, children are expected to be self-reliant, independent, competitive, and questioning, but in the home environment, these qualities are not highly regarded since they are alien to the Hispanic way of life.

Sociologists, Fitzpatrick (1971) among them, have pointed out that the conflicts experienced by Spanish children as a result of their attempts to reconcile the divergent values of the home, school and peer cultures often predispose them to suffer identity problems, academic difficulties, parental rejection, psychological disturbances, juvenile delinquency, and general anomie. Since schools in the United States are committed to provide education equally to all children, regardless of their ethnoracial, linguistic, or other background, their failure to do so in the case of minority children represents, in fact, a challenge to the principle of democracy. Educators who have addressed this issue have concluded that the problem is rooted in the ethnocentricity of the curriculum content, teaching methods, and administrative procedures, and that it is this bias which has so far prevented educational institutions from catering effectively to the needs of culturally different children.

According to Bucchioni (1965), the American

classroom has been a scene of value conflicts for the Puerto Rican child, and he has responded to those negative learning conditions with inattention, restlessness, impatience, and sometimes disorderliness. One of the major outcomes of this situation has been that teachers seem to spend more time on the enforcement of certain values and norms in class than they do on the development of academic skills. Such behavior illustrates another aspect of communication conflicts in the educational process--the frustration and threatened self-esteem of the teacher who is unable to cope with the situation.

Some of the most glaring examples of culture conflicts in the classroom have been reported by various writers. Bucchioni (1965) and Fitzpatrick (1971), for instance, have cited as one major source of difficulties on school grounds the differences in sex roles accepted in Anglo-American and Hispanic cultures.

More often than not, Hispanic children prefer to gather in sex-differentiated groups for all classroom activities; they are oblivious to the fact that their teacher may consider mixed grouping a more effective socialization experience than segregated grouping. This separation of the sexes is also evident in other ways. Older boys, for instance, tend to assume a protective and responsible attitude toward their sisters --escorting them to and from school, dispensing lunch money to them, and defending them against intruders; as a result of their protective upbringing, girls tend to be shy and submissive toward their brothers and other boys. Neither of these typical male and female Hispanic behaviors meets the wholehearted approval of the egalitarian Anglo-American educator who tends to translate them as overaggressiveness on the one hand, and excessive dependence on the other.

Closely associated with the female role in Hispanic society is the concept of modesty--an important cultural value which often becomes a problem in American schools when girls are required to wear abbreviated costumes in mixed physical education activities.

Parents are generally scandalized by this matter of fact expectation of "unseemly" bodily display; they consider it insensitive on the part of school administrators to force such improper standards of modesty upon their sheltered daughters.

Another area of contention between the school and Hispanic parents is found in their conflicting concepts of a "good student". As Fishman and Cooper (1971) have noted, the Latino male must be "macho" and dominant, and his feminine counterpart soft and submissive; yet both the boys and girls are expected to be compliant, obedient and respectful toward their elders and all authority figures (such as teachers). In this respect, Hispanic values run totally counter to those upheld in Anglo-American society which deemphasizes authoritarianism and stresses insteac individual qualities of "initiative" and "leadership". Accordingly, the competitive, action-oriented behavior demanded of American children in the classroom is not easily assumed by Spanish youngsters for it places them in direct conflict with their family, where a "good student" is defined as one who sits quietly at his desk, pays close attention to the instructor, and volunteers information only when he is called upon to do so. This problem was described by Elam (1960) who found that students who were unused to having their personal opinions solicited by adults failed to adapt readily to situations where they were expected to shift from their usual receptive role to one of active participation in the learning experience. This action-oriented student model presents even greater difficulties for Hispanic girls than for boys, since they have been conditioned to defer not only to all adults but to their male peers as well.

The importance placed in American society on "action orientation" is also reflected in an accent on material achievement and success, neither of which occupies a primary place in the Hispanic scheme of values which emphasizes instead the contemplative aspect of life--the development of the self and the striving for inner perfection (Stewart, 1971). In such a system, dignity is seen as an inborn quality which

entitles each human being to the respect of others, regardless of his circumstances. This view stands in contrast with that adopted by Anglo-Saxon individuals who associate dignity with material acquisition and who define respect, not as something to be given freely, but as something to be earned by one's actions and demonstrated competence.

The need to win the regard of one's fellowmen reinforces the drive to achieve, and these attitudes combine to serve as a powerful incentive for the American to approach all his undertakings with a determined anticipation of positive results. This orientation is reflected in such common expressions as: "If at first you don't succeed, try and try again"--a statement which implies that failure is a near impossibility. And in the world of pragmatic reality, it is demonstrated by a deliberate approach to problem-solving often culminating in remarkable technological achievements. This optimistic outlook on life is not shared by most Spanish speakers who have learned that one should not expect too much of life, and that it is best to dismiss the future with a fatalistic shrug of the shoulders--"¡Que sera, sera!"

These divergent attitudes are clearly illustrated in the educational environment where they affect classroom interaction, as well as learning achievement. Among the learners, there are children who are not interested in, or capable of, producing an acceptable academic performance under normal class conditions. In such cases, the Anglo-American child is apt to remain impervious to any measure taken by the teacher to remedy the situation, whether it be admonitions, low grades, punishment, or disaffection. Even the direst prediction of a bleak future for "anyone who does not work in school" may fail to shake the student's optimistic belief that everything will eventually come out all right for him and for everyone else. Such is not the case, however for the majority of Hispanic children who, because of their fatalistic inclinations, frequently lack the resilience to meet each "new"

failure with anything but a terrible snese of eroding self-worth. For them, the teacher's word is law, but even if they wanted to question it, they would still find it difficult to communicate their feelings in a language which is niether natureal to them nor linked to them by affective ties. Under the circumstances, silence and resignation are for these children the only responses appropriate to the situation.

THE CULTURAL DIMENSIONS OF HUMAN TIME AND SPACE

People are accustomed to think of time and space as strictly physical dimensions which set certain limitations to all human actions. In the minds of men, however, both entities acquire a psychological significance which is culturally determined and, therefore, subject to variations from one society to another. From the very moment of his birth, each child is taught how to cope with this "silent language" of time and space by the adult members of his community. From them, he learns how to orient himself to the reality of his physical and social environments within an appropriate spatio-temporal framework, how to perceive and handle their constituent elements, how to assign proper values to them, and how to use them in communication (Hall, 1959). But because this aspect of the human socialization process occurs primarily at the unconscious level, the resulting conditioning which continues to operate throughout the life of the individual seldom becomes known to him, even when it interferes with his interaction with members of a different group.

Space can be experienced first on the level of instinct, expressing itself in territoriality--literally, a possessive attitude toward a certain territory claimed and jealously guarded by each living being on earth. In the realm of mankind, territoriality takes the form of proxemic behavior, with reference to the

continuum of space which separates members of a group in accordance with the standards established by their particular culture. An example of proxemic behavior is the "conversation distance" described by Hall (1966) as constituting a serious point of interference between Anglo-Saxon and Latin American individuals.

According to this scholar, the concept of social space is interpreted in widely differing manners in Hispanic and American societies, with the former opting generally for a narrower interaction distance than that preferred by the latter. Under the circumstances, embarrassing moments may occur when members of these two different cultures come into conversation contact with each other: the Anglo-American draws back automatically from what he senses unconsciously as a proxemic invasion, thereby insulting his Spanish interlocutor who, in turn, interprets this strategic retreat as a message of personal rejection. In this case, each interactor acts in good faith, unaware of the subliminal message conveyed by his behavior to the other person, and equally unsuspecting of any divergence in the other's interpretation of his action. Both individuals will eventually take leave of one another, experiencing a mutual and indefinable feeling of dissatisfaction which neither will be able to attribute to any particular cause.

Similar conflicts in proxemic behavior are also likely to occur in the academic context. Many an Anglo-American teacher has reacted negatively without realizing it to the "crowding" behavior of Latino children, and his instinctive withdrawal has been interpreted by them as a sign of exclusion from the inner circle of favorite students. And, occasionally, at a conference involving parents of a Spanish-speaking exceptional learner, a father's desperate reach for human contact to communicate his anguish to the Learning Disability Specialist (a woman) has only succeeded in creating a climate of discomfort and distrust between them because the gesture has seemed inappropriately familiar and offensive to her. Indeed, the

close proximity or touch of a stranger is always a disturbing experience for the average American who has been conditioned to interact with people at a "safe" social distance of 4-12 feet (Hall, 1966). Because of this proxemic attitude, a number of school administrators have learned to take refuge automatically behind their desks when they become involved in a conference with members of the Hispanic community, not as a means of reinforcing their official position, but simply for the purpose of protecting their private space. They are oblivious to the message of unfriendliness which their action may convey to their visitors.

Time is another dimension which may create problems between interacting individuals of different backgrounds, for it is subject to arbitrary cultural handling in terms of meaning and even quantification. For example, in the Soviet Union, the twenty-four hour day is divided into morning, afternoon, evening and night just as it is in this country; over there, however, the official beginning of "morning" varies according to the season because it coincides with the actual rising of the sun. The French, on the other hand, quantify the times of day along fixed lines throughout the year, such as Americans do (Condon, 1969, pg. 166).

In Western cultures, time is also conceptualized as a continuum along which man progresses and orients himself toward the past, the present, or the future. In this society, for instance individuals are future-oriented and they work today for a better tomorrow. But, for the Navajo and Hopi Indians, only the present offers a reality within the range of human concerns (Hoijer, 1964). And, for Spanish speakers as well, the present is more important than the future or even the past because it is the ultimate time of "being" for any man.

To some extent, then, the meaning conveyed by the expression "mañana, is good enough for me," and so often applied derisively by English speakers to typical Spanish-style leisurely behavior, has accuracy insofar as the primacy of human over temporal matters is

concerned. Where the popular interpretation errs grossly, however, is in the stereotypic insistence that time has little value in the Latino scheme of life. Indeed, time is important to Hispanic individuals, but not to the extent of submitting human dignity to its enslavement. In this respect, their culture stands in direct contrast with the Anglo-American orientation which places an extraordinary emphasis on detailed planning and on a strict adherence to schedules (Hall, 1959). These divergent views of temporality are clearly exemplified in the parallel English and Spanish expressions: "the clock runs"--a statement describing a hurried motion, and "el reloj camina"--one implying a leisurely, strolling pace. (Condon, 1969).

On the whole, Anglo-Americans perceive time as a precious commodity to be conserved and budgeted carefully because of its irreplaceability. The very life of the community revolves around it, and a high premium is placed upon its appropriate utilization. Indicative of its value are the many slogans and expressions referring to time--"time is money", "time flies," or "good, or bad timing," and the surprisingly easy acceptance that one can "buy or sell, gain or lose, find or borrow, save or waste, or simply mark time as a matter of course in this "time-stressed" society. Hispanic societies, on the other hand, tend to treat time in casual manner, accommodating its passage to their needs, rather than letting themselves be controlled by it.

The business-like approach of American society to temporal matters is reflected in the academic context in a number of ways, all of which pose problems for the more leisurely oriented Spanish child. In school, all activities are segmented into a strict time schedule which orchestrates the entire class to perform the same tasks in exact unison. For the Hispanic student, this imposition of a rigid chronological regimentation brings unfamiliar confusion and confinement for, at home, he had always been master of his "time" and been allowed to exercise his individuality within the casual rhythm of family life.

Occasionally, the youngster forgets the conditions under which he is expected to function in class, and he becomes so engrossed in what he is doing that he fails to stop working when he is told to do so. This innocent, but repeated disregard of the scheduling taboo may eventually lead the teacher into suspecting that this "obvious" reluctance to follow directions may be a first signal of deviant behavior.

Another manifestation of conflicting "time orientation" concerns the issues of punctuality and truancy. Teachers frequently complain that Hispanic children are neither punctual nor consistent in school attendance. Most instructors interpret this behavior as a demonstration of irresponsibility on the part of both youngsters and parents, and take a dim view of any explanation referring to unusual family responsibilities--caring for younger siblings, or sharing the problems, special days, and illnesses of distant relatives. For an educator, school attendance takes precedence over all but the most serious family obligations, and participation in the christening celebration of a distant cousin is not a permissible excuse for any student to miss a scheduled test. But, for Hispanic parents and their offsprings the time lost in classroom learning is not as important as that invested in family duties, and the teacher's objections are incomprehensible, for they reflect a strange lack of sensitivity to kinship responsibilities.

The entire curriculum of the school is crowded into a tight schedule which features endless sequences of fast-moving and closely-timed activities, such as quizzes, tests and spelling bees. The emphasis thus placed on a "clock-watch" performance of assigned tasks becomes a haunting nightmare for any learner functioning at a slower tempo, as is the case for Hispanic children who have been brought up in a relaxed home atmosphere where minutes (sometimes hours or days) are not seen as critical factors. Faced with such alien pressures and bereft of the

necessary time-oriented skills, the Latino student responds to the situation with a set of behaviors which carry the seeds of self-defeat, stress, anxiety, fatigue and the fear of not being able to meet the demands placed upon him. As these conditions worsen, he becomes identified as a "problem learner," a first step towards potential selection as a candidate for Special Education.

CULTURAL FACTORS IN THE UPBRINGING OF HISPANIC CHILDREN

The upbringing of children in Hispanic society differs considerably from that of Anglo-American youngsters. Some of those divergences are at the root of the difficulties experienced by Spanish speakers in school and, later on, in the adult world of work and social interaction. Among them are the internalized values of dependency, personalism, humanism and relationalism which are reflected in personality traits dysfunctional in the Anglo-Saxon context.

Dependency

The qualities of independence and self-reliance which are so highly prized in this country and so carefully nurtured in their offsprings by most American parents at a tender age, are not encouraged by Latino families who believe in sheltering their children from life's problems as long as they are able to do so. For this reason, the first encounter of the Spanish six-year old with the discipline and learning experiences of the academic environment is more likely to occur at the first grade than at the Kindergarten level where school attendance is strictly voluntary. Although the children's mothers (or older siblings) try to ease the transition between home and school for them by bringing them to class in the morning and picking them up at the end

of the day, the youngsters still face expectations of independent behavior in the classroom which are far beyond those that have been asked of them up to that time. The shyness and retiring behavior of Hispanic first graders are viewed by the Anglo-American teacher as a sign of immaturity likely to hinder their social adjustment and educational progress. His well-intended attempts to foster habits of independence in these pupils frequently only succeeds in inhibiting whatever incentive a boy or girl may have had to explore the school environment, for they are based upon unrealistic and culturally irrelevant expectations of pupil maturity, responsibility and self-reliance. Unable to respond in appropriate manner to his teacher's demands, the Spanish student may either rebel or withdraw from an intolerable situation. In so doing, he inevitably displays behavioral patterns which may be easily confused with symptoms of exceptionalities, and which may cause him to be listed for referral services.

In later grades, Hispanic children find it even more difficult to cope with the contradictory demands of home and school than they did at the primary level. All too often they are unable to reconcile these cultural differences and may opt once again for withdrawal in the hopes of being unnoticed in class, or they may decide to brazen it out and express their frustrations in a belligerent manner. In the eyes of the school staff, either behavior is irrational and creates instructional or disciplinary problems which may point to the potential presence of a previously unidentified exceptionality within the student.

When a parent-teacher conference is set up to resolve the difficulties experienced by a young Spanish child in the academic environment, cultural differences in child-rearing practices, parental or teacher role and problem-solving strategies tend to interfere with the discussion. At the end of an "unsatisfactory" conference, a first grade teacher

may be so incensed with what she sees as "overprotective behavior" on the part of the mother that she may reveal her disapproval somewhat forcefully be stressing the need for parents "to cut apron strings". Instead of enlisting the mother's assistance in fostering those habits of independence needed by the child to survive in school, this admonishment will only succeed in arousing her resentment at being told by a stranger to do something which is tantamount to a neglect of adult responsibility in the Hispanic community.

From another standpoint, the very directness of Anglo-American style parent-teacher consultation is apt to create serious obstacles to the resolution of problems experienced by Spanish children. Its basically blunt approach to delicate matters such as learning disabilities is not considered in good taste by the Hispanic community where people seldom confront an issue head on, but prefer instead to circumvent it through tactful indirection. Forced into voicing an opinion or making a decision that will affect the future of their offspring, a decision that they cannot make without family consultation, Latino parents will resort to what is viewed by their interlocutors as dilatory conversational tactics--a tactful avoidance of specific commitments by means of polite, transparent excuses intended to convey a negative answer without offending the listener. And so, the consultation ends in utter frustration for everyone concerned; without resolution (from the educators' standpoint) and without understanding (the parents' viewpoint). The situation is further complicated by the time factor associated with crucial decisions--the stress on immediacy in Anglo-American culture, as opposed to the need for extended reflection in Latino communities. The inevitable delay, thus experienced by school administrators in obtaining the parents' decision may eventually lead them to force the issue long before the latter are psychologically ready to cope with it. The combined pressures of school and child study team expertise will frequently intimidate the child's family into accepting

the recommended program of Special Education, but this apparent concurrence may conceal a world of resentment, resistance and downright opposition which, in the long run, may undermine the effectiveness of the educational prescription.

Personalism

Personalism in Hispanic culture combines the dual aspect of "self-worth" and "face." For members of that community, pride in the value of the self (the inner being) is closely associated with the respect one accords to others and one expects to receive in return. It is also reflected in the need to maintain a positive public image, regardless of one's circumstances. Spanish mothers will go to extensive lengths to insure that their sons or daughters make a good impression upon others, even to the point of depriving themselves of necessities at home in order to purchase the "right clothes" for their family and, thereby, insure the projection of the "right" family image.

Under these conditions any instructional occurrence which conveys a negative message of failure to the Latino child is an affront to his self-respect and an attack upon his family pride which he does not know how to handle. Public denigration is all the more serious to him in that it strips him of his self-confidence and exposes him to disgrace in full sight of his peers. It is the "publicness" of the humiliation, the thought that everyone knows about it, which disgraces him and, so, destroys him more effectively than the recognition of his own inadequacy.

Shame is, indeed, a powerful instrument of discipline in Hispanic culture, one which need not be used destructively but can, instead, be wielded positively and effectively in the appropriate context--strictly in the seclusion of a one-to-one interaction and in reference to the family group. Thus, where the threat of a failing grade or detention may not

succeed in producing the desired change of behavior within the student, a private and strong reminder of his family obligations may do wonders in stimulating him to renewed efforts. More important still, the strategy will secure the child's willing cooperation because it will convince him that the teacher is on his side and will provide him with the necessary assistance to achieve learning.

The fear of public disgrace is an important factor to be considered in the identification of exceptionality among Spanish-speaking children. It is one of the major reasons why a great many parents are extremely reluctant to accept suggested placement in Special Education classes, justified though the school's recommendations may be. Yet, at the same time, it must also be recognized that this parental resistance is often vindicated by the inability of educational institutions to distinguish accurately between two sets of scholastic problems: those created by linguistic inadequacies and cultural interferences on the one hand, and those caused by actual intellectual limitations and personal maladjustments on the other hand.

Indeed, the heartbreak experienced by a mother and father upon being informed that their son or daughter is unable to function in a regular class is nothing compared to that which crushes them when they discover a few years (even a few months) later that the diagnosis had been inaccurate and that their child has been uselessly deprived of his rightful education and needlessly stripped of his self-confidence. It is this cost in human suffering that statistics on misassignment to Special Education fail to reveal, but which no educator can afford to overlook when he seeks to evaluate those evidences of potential exceptionality which are associated with culturally and/or linguistically different children.

One expression of "humanistic" tendencies exhibited by Hispanic youngsters may be noted in their determined insistence to express their affection toward their friends and teachers in a demonstrative manner, and to seek its reciprocation. In Spanish-speaking countries, an elementary school instructor (usually a woman) functions truly in loco parentis. On the U.S. mainland, however, the role of "surrogate mother" is not perceived as legitimate by the average teacher (Board of Education, Chicago, 1970). In the American school context, a boy or girl who demonstrates what is viewed as an inordinate craving for attention is often diagnosed as one deprived of love and care at home, or one afflicted by feelings of insecurity. Eventually, the educator who is the object of this relentless pursuit for affection may experience such an acute discomfort at this public display of emotion that she is driven to discourage the child's attention by avoiding his touch, or even his close proximity. The teacher's intention is to establish the proper Anglo-style psychological distance between herself and the learner; but in reality, what she does convey unintentionally by this physical withdrawal is a message of total rejection. Its effect may well be the destruction of extrinsic motivation--the child's desire to learn in order to please his teacher--as well as the seeding of a negative self-concept.

What most Anglo-American educators fail to realize is that demonstrative behavior in the Hispanic community is a perfectly normal way of conveying good will and "human" feelings toward one's fellowmen; it is also a form of communication between interacting individuals. Thus, the reserved and emotionally controlled individual so typical of Anglo-American culture tends to be viewed somewhat suspiciously by Spanish speakers because he is perceived by them

as an anti-social, incomplete human being--one who is an object of pity rather than of admiration or approval.

Humanism in Hispanic children is also expressed in their unusual generosity with toys and other personal belongings, an openness of attitude which they frequently discover is not reciprocated by their Anglo-Saxon peers. The realization that other people are not as ready as they are to part willingly with what they have, comes as a disturbing surprise to them, and it takes them a long time to learn that the concepts of sharing and generosity have different values and meanings with different people.

In Hispanic culture the qualities of generosity and sharing are related to an individual's normal spiritual and personal development. In Anglo-American culture, however, they are associated with impersonal, social responses to indigence and are expressed primarily through the medium of community agencies. In this country, where material acquisition is a manifestation of one's success in life, any extreme form of sharing and generosity tends to be suspect and may often be misinterpreted as a form of "bribery". A case in point would be the reluctance of a teacher to accept a Christmas gift lovingly selected by a Spanish student (and intended only as a token of respect, gratitude and affection) with the mistaken notion that it might lead to expectations of preferential treatment. For the child, however, the teacher's reticence takes on a different meaning: it stands as a message of personal rejection, a signal that his attentions are not wanted. And, in this single moment, a relationship of trust developed so carefully over the previous months will have become another casualty of cultural misunderstanding.

Relationalism

The shyness and introversion, or rebellion and antagonism so often associated with Hispanic young-

sters in school are not as a rule characteristic of their behavior in their own environment. They tend to prevail only in hostile surroundings and are contrary to the rules of conduct which govern home and community life. The art of establishing and nurturing positive relationships with other individuals is a skill cultivated at an early age in the Spanish community. It requires children to develop two separate codes of behavior--one which regulates all interchanges with their elders (formal, committed and respectful) and the other which prescribes all aspects of peer relations (open, friendly, and gregarious). The clear separation of these interaction styles is illustrated in the use of two pronominal forms of address in the Spanish language--the informal "tu" applied to one's equals (close associates, age mates, and friends) and the formal "usted" reserved for older people and for those of higher status and authority.

The intensity of relational concerns among Latino individuals is clearly illustrated in the very special meaning attached to the concept of "amistad," one which bears little resemblance to its Anglo-American counterpart--"friendship." Amistad signifies a long-term relationship which is characterized by strong feelings of intimacy, responsibility, and mutual dependency. In mainstream society, a "friend" can be nothing more than a casual acquaintance contrived by momentary circumstances but, among Spanish speakers, un amigo, or una amiga is a chosen being, a kindred soul with whom one has lifelong expectations of shared experiences, reciprocated love, and mutual trust. No other person outside the extended family ever enjoys this closeness of interpersonal association with a Hispanic individual. In this community, strangers are treated with unfailing courtesy and respect, but the extent to which any interaction with them may be personalized is carefully determined by a multitude of variables related to individual status, empathy and external circumstances, none of which is clearly understood by an outsider.

This compartmentalized system of human relations is internalized by Hispanic youngsters in the home

environment, and it is applied by them automatically to school situations. At first, then, they tend to be obedient and submissive toward their teachers and friendly toward their fellow students, while striving to achieve those special ties of intimacy which are worthy of attaining with "simpatico" individuals. Unfortunately, the Latino child who looks for friendship outside of his own culture group is doomed to be bitterly disappointed, for the intense involvement he hungers for is seldom to be found among his less demanding Anglo-American peers. Unable to accept, or even to understand the informality of a friendship which does not entail any long-lasting commitment, reciprocal intimacy, or deeply felt obligations, the Hispanic child engages his entire being in the vain search for un amigo among his English-speaking peers. His expectations may seem at first to be fulfilled by the latter's enthusiastic responses to his overtures; later on, however, his hopes are likely to be devastated by their casual dismissal of his needs for demonstrated loyalty and affection. What makes the situation even more tragic for the Latino student is that he interprets this treatment in strictly personal terms, as a negative judgment on, and rejection of his "differentness," exactly as if he had been tested and found wanting.

In his relationship with the teacher, this same youngster experiences another kind of frustration. Accustomed to a somewhat leisurely, indirect, and subjective style of communication which allows each interlocutor ample time to express his thoughts and feelings, the Spanish-speaking child suddenly finds himself immersed in a maelstrom of hurriedly paced activities where "time waits for no one," and where a delay in answering the teacher's questions is a lost opportunity to demonstrate knowledge. As days go by, he becomes increasingly unwilling to expose himself to these curtailed conversational interactions which, among members of his group, are interpreted as discourteous and downright insulting. Torn between his respect for the authority figure--the teacher, and

his recognition of the latter's apparent disregard of his human dignity, the Hispanic student is driven to surmise that he is not worthy of respect, a revelation which threatens the very integrity of his inner being. Under the circumstances, he is left with two behavioral options, either of which will enable him to protect his self-identity; one is to fight openly for survival, and the other is to avoid further destructive classroom interactions. Whatever the youngster may choose to do will result in an identical educational outcome: his actions will most likely be misinterpreted by a teacher already predisposed to judge him a "slow learner" on the basis of past evidence. In the educator's eyes, the shift in behavior from reluctant class participation to aggressive response or total withdrawal represents simply a new stage in emerging symptoms of mental or emotional disturbances, all of which identify the child as a clearcut case for referral.

In day-to-day classroom interaction, the complexity of Hispanic relationships also manifests itself in other ways which tend to impair the effectiveness of communication between the teacher and the learner. A simple matter, such as calling upon a boy or girl to correct an answer or to supply information in response to a question missed by someone else, creates a problem situation for, in the Latino code of ethics, it is not considered proper for any individual to secure attention at the expense of another person (showing up his ignorance, for instance). And a large group assignment necessitating the collaborative input of every student in class may often elicit a strange show of reticence on the part of Spanish children. In order to understand the situation, one must realize that these youngsters are accustomed to reserve their support for a small circle of favorite schoolmates and that, consequently, the very thought of designating efforts on behalf of strangers (who should automatically turn for such assistance to members of their own "clan") makes little sense to them. Such behaviors --aversion to being either singled out, or engulfed in a mass production--result in a highly selective

style of class participation which tends to be explained by the Anglo-American teacher as a demonstration of existing flaws in the childs character, and entered as such on his permanent school record. Undeserved though they may be, these disparaging labels of "recalcitrance, uncooperativeness and selfishness" will follow the learner throughout his entire school career; they may even lead to suspicions of social maladjustment.

From a crosscultural standpoint, then, the Anglo-American stress on objectivity and independence fosters loose patterns of human relations which do not encroach upon a person's individuality and freedom and, therefore, enable him to contribute freely to the collective good. These attitudes stand in direct contrast with the Hispanic emphasis on subjectivity and dependence and its corollary of kinship and friendship ties which define individual freedom in relation to the immediate group and restrict obligations to members of the privileged circle. Quite clearly, there is a cultural dissonance between the behavioral codes of conduct prescribed by each society which is so profound that it leads almost inevitably to conflicts in any crosscultural interaction. And, unfortunately, in an educational institution where one might expect classroom differences to be handled with some measure of understanding, the problems arising from cultural divergences are seldom resolved in other than prejudicial manner, for majority expectations nearly always prevail, and minority children are left with no other choice but to conform, or to fail.

CULTURE AND COMMUNICATION

Cultural Factors in Verbal Communication

Language is a reflection of culture and the vehicle by which men communicate with each other. Because it is used by members of a culture group to label the different entities, qualities and relationships which they perceive in their environment, linguistic expression serves the dual purpose of categorizing reality into discrete parts and organizing these parts into a system of knowledge. Different languages, therefore, correspond to different cultural realities.

A number of scholars have investigated the relationship of language to culture. Bruner, et al (1956) stated that words played a significant role in man's perception of reality, because they facilitated his discrimination of constituent elements found in the environment. Leach (1964) expanded on this notion by ascribing to verbal communication the additional responsibilities of clarifying the thinking process and stimulating the mental function of categorization. Another theory advanced by Whorf and Sapir (Hoijer, (1963), and commonly known as the "Whorfian Hypothesis," claimed the existence of a mutually restrictive relationship between culture and language, whereby the former defined for a specific group the range of environmental factors subject to linguistic description, while the latter conditioned group members to view the environment in a specific predetermined way. According to this theory, the absence of a future tense in a particular language would make it impossible for its speakers to conceptualize this aspect of time and, conversely, this lacuna in the linguistic structure would point to a cultural rejection of the future as unimportant in the speakers temporal orientation.

Whether or not one subscribes to the Sapir-Whorf theory of linguistic relativity does not alter the fact that human thought is culturally conditioned and that its reflection in speech constitutes a major obstacle to effective crosscultural communication. The problem was noted by Lado (1968) among others, who expressed a conviction that misinterpretations resulting from divergent cultural viewpoints created conflicts between speakers of different languages which could not be overcome by the skills of bilingualism.

One of the ways in which cultural attitudes may be reflected in verbal communication is in the inner construction of a sentence--its word order, treatment, verb usage, or tense selection. An example of this relationship may be found in the formal-informal dichotomy of Hispanic interaction and its reflection in the prescribed use of "usted" or "tu" as a means of establishing the appropriate psychological distance between the speakers. Another linguistic technique which serves to express a speaker's cultural orientation is at the level of semantic diversification--the existence of different lexical categories to distinguish between culturally differentiated variations of meanings for the same concept. In English, for instance, the term "leg" applies indiscriminately to man and animal alike, a vocabulary usage which suitably reflects the egalitarianism of a culture where "Fido" is considered a member of the family. But in Spanish the realms of man and lesser beings, like dogs, are as determinedly separated in the language as they are in real life. Accordingly, the words "pata" and "pierna" both refer to the same portion of anatomy--the leg; but the former is only applicable to animals, while the latter is strictly reserved for human beings (Lado, 1968).

The latent danger of cultural miscommunication embedded in different aspects of the language is magnified when an individual possesses a bilingual fluency which is not validated by a corresponding mastery of the two appropriate cultural contexts. In support of this cautionary statement, Lado (1968) cites the

following examples of language-culture related interferences as they apply to inter-group communication:

1. *The problems created by the transliteration of words and utterances:*

   The Spanish compliment "Que grueso estas," which is translated literally as "how fat you are," becomes an insult in English.

   "El primer piso" does not mean "the first floor" as its verbatim English counterpart inplies; it actually refers to what would be considered here "the second floor" of a building.

   The use of the name "Jesus" for a boy is quite common in Hispanic society, but not in the Anglo-Saxon community, where it is regarded as inappropriate, if not sacrilegious.

2. *The communication breakdown caused by the existence of "false cognates":*

   "Assistir" in Spanish means "to attend a function," whereas "to assist" in English means "to help".

   To be "informal" in Spanish is "to be neglectful," but to be so in English simply conveys the notion of "casual" behavior.

   "Compromiso" as it applies to negotiations carries a negative connotation in Hispanic culture which is not found in its English counterpart "compromise."

3. *The difficulties originating in the use of idiomatic and other expressions for which there exists no approximation in the other language and culture:*

The concept of "macho" which does not exist in English.

That of "leisure time" which cannot be directly translated into Spanish.

The communication breakdowns which may occur as a result of the shift from one language to another are rooted in the culturally-determined differences of meaning which are attached to linguistic labels and to the speaker's experiences. When a bilingual individual switches from his native to his second idiom, he is apt to substitute the units and patterns of thought of his own culture for those normally associated with the other tongue. In so doing, he succeeds in erecting an effective barrier of potential misunderstanding between himself and his listener.

A large number of the Hispanic children enrolled in American schools come from homes where Spanish is used for all family and community interactions. Accordingly, their knowledge of the classroom language--standard English--is often inadequate to insure their survival in a regular instructional situation. School attendance, then, places them in the unenviable position of having to learn a second language which also happens to be the official medium of instruction for all subject matters. And, even those few privileged students who have achieved a functional level of bilingualism (but not biculturalism) prior to their enrollment in school, encounter linguistically related problems. Ironically in their case, it is their very fluency in the majority language which causes them to run into cultural interference problems, for it leads educators to expect culturally appropriate behavior on their part along with their fluency in English.

Anglo-American teachers are likely to react negatively to the presence of children with limited or nonstandard English ability in the classroom because their inclusion in a regular class creates instructional problems which they are not always equipped to

handle. Frustration will often lead them to wonder "why those youngsters still can't speak the language decently after spending two months in an English-speaking environment!" Such statements are not only illogical but run counter to what is known in the profession about second language learning. According to the Department of State, an average but properly motivated individual requires a minimum of six hundred hours of intensive instruction, reinforced by constant outside practice, in order to develop a minimal functional ability in a second idiom. But, if the learner has already achieved some fluency in a nonstandard form of the language prior to formal instruction, the time required to modify his established, but inappropriate, speech habits may well exceed the standard six hundred hours. Unfortunately, this technical information is seldom available to teachers who do not specialize in foreign language education and, since few educators have been exposed to the experience of learning a second idiom, they are neither able to appreciate the physical, cognitive, and emotional stresses associated with the acquisition of new linguistic habits, nor competent to judge progress realistically in relation to time spent in language practice.

From a linguistic standpoint, several factors other than the teacher's lack of foreign language experience may contribute to the fostering of rejecting attitudes within him toward Spanish-speakers in class. Among them are the following:

1. *The teacher has been exposed to the experience of learning a foreign language but has forgotten it and is no longer aware of the difficulty of the task.*

2. *The teacher has not been trained in contrastive linguistics or in English-as-a-Second Language methodology and is, therefore, unable to teach the language effectively to a foreign speaker.*

3. *The teacher has received training in basic, but not in advanced English-as-a-Second Language techniques, and does not possess the professional skills needed to cope with stylistic problems in oral or written communication.*
4. *The teacher has no knowledge of the Spanish language, child or culture and is unequipped to meet the differential learning needs of this student.*
5. *The teacher is not consciously aware of his own cultural expectations and assumptions and is unrealistic in his formulation and assessment of instructional objectives for Hispanic children.*
6. *The teacher views all Spanish speakers in stereotypic, prejudicial terms (consciously or unconsciously) and treats them in accordance with these views.*
7. *The teacher has xenophobic tendencies toward all individuals who speak with an accent and is unprepared psychologically as well as professionally to solve language difficulties in class.*
8. *The teacher has no second language learning aptitude and unconsciously resents anyone who demonstrates a bilingual knowledge.*

In some cases, the teacher's professional inadequacies may be easily remedied with the provision of necessary information and training. Factors one through five fall into this category. Where a nearly insurmountable problem arises is in the domain of deeply ingrained attitudes (factors 6-8) which affect the educator's ability to perform professionally in a truly objective and nondiscriminatory manner. Research findings concerned with attitudinal change are not overly encouraging with respect to the achievement of positive, long-lasting results. Under the circum-

stances, it may be that the most practical solution to classroom prejudice will be to avoid such conflicts and to match teachers and learners carefully from the standpoint of positive mutual affect and orientation.

While ideal learning conditions for Hispanic children are, by the very nature of traditional American education--racist and selective, according to Dickeman (1973) and other scholars--admittedly difficult to implement; nevertheless, it should be possible to eliminate some of the destructive practices which exist in the majority of schools today. One of the most notorious policies now prevailing in the educational establishment is that of administering standardized tests in English and using the results for student placement and the determination of individual abilities. The detrimental effect of these procedures on the education of minority children has already been discussed at length in a previous section.

Occasionally, however, progressive administrators recognize the logic of evaluating the learner in his own language, and they select an instrument which can be given in English or in Spanish. Unfortunately, there are still very few tests of this kind on the market and, all too often, those which are available are first written in English, and then translated literally into the other idiom with little consideration for the divergent natures of the two languages or for their contextual, cultural differences. A test item included in the Spanish version of the Cooperative Inter-American Reading Test, for instance, requires the child to decipher directions and to find a street location stated in terms of cardinal points (Condon, 1975). This translation overlooked one basic fact--that the Anglo-Saxon system of geographical orientation (N, S, E, W) utilized in the question is not commonly used in Spanish-speaking countries. The item, therefore, has no construct validity as a measurement of reading for the Spanish speaker but its presence, as well as that of other similar, culturally irrelevant elements in the test (or other bilingual

tests) raises some serious questions concerning the use of these devices to assess the academic skills of bilingual children. In the long run, the consequences of skewed, lower scores in the native language of the student may be even more detrimental to him than those of an English test, for the validity of the Spanish version tends to be taken for granted by the average educator and the testee's capabilities are once again grossly underestimated. If test results reach the danger zone of minimal achievement or learning potential, the child may be slated for referral and, in the process, be subjected to further and equally irrelevant evaluations intended, ironically, to identify his particular learning handicap.

Another policy frequently implemented in educational institutions "for the good" of the Spanish learners is that of prohibiting them from using their native tongue on school grounds. The well-intended ostensible reasoning behind this decision is to maximize opportunities for them to practice English; but the hidden agenda may be the need to provide reassurance for frustrated monolingual teachers who, unable to understand the youngsters' conversation, suspect that it may concern them in some derogatory manner. Instead of producing the desired result of increased English-speaking habits among Spanish boys and girls, the taboo succeeds only in alienating them further from the academic community. Not only do these youngsters resent being forced to converse with their friends in a medium of expression which they feel is lacking in affective qualities, but they also find the strain of thinking and speaking in English all day long almost unbearable. Under the circumstances, they can only view the English-Only edict as a public judgment against their native tongue and a rejection of what they are, culturally as well as linguistically. With some insecure children, the effect of any decree prohibiting the use of the native language may be so paralyzing that it may actually create a crippling communication handicap where none might have developed in a normal linguistic environment.

Sometimes a bilingual child will demonstrate a deceptively adequate English fluency in the course of daily classroom interaction. This verbal success does not justify any assumption that the student's oral skills will be matched by equal writing abilities, nor does it guarantee his mastery of the lexical and structural knowledge needed to score acceptably on a standardized test. Yet the oral proficiency, thus displayed by the learner (which is indicative of a communication competence), may frequently be disregarded by the teacher in favor of the negative written evidence obtained on tests, for no other reason than the traditional educator's belief in the preeminence of written communication over oral expression. This same conviction extends as well to scoring practices as they apply to teacher-made quizzes and other pencil-and-paper work allocated to the students: the results are graded on the basis of content and linguistic presentation. Rare, indeed, is the child who receives a passing mark for turning in a knowledgeable but "illiterate" assignment in school. These biased assessment practices produce two major results, both of which are deleterious to the Hispanic child's future chances of success: they consistently downgrade his learning achievement (other than linguistic) to the point of destroying his motivation; and they burden him undeservedly with a disastrous permanent record which undermines his self-concept and bars him automatically from college acceptance later on.

From a cultural viewpoint, the language problems experienced in school by the Latino child, gain added significance from the special value which his society places on rhetorical art as a means of expressing personality and gaining face in the surrounding community. For the average Anglo-American, language is a useful tool of communication, and the ultimate in a good discourse is achieved by means of directness, simplicity and objectivity. But, to a Hispanic individual, language is an aesthetic and subjective experience characterized by a stylistic and subtlety and an eloquence requiring the total engagement of a speaker's faculties. Such a person is, therefore, particularly susceptible

to the impact of failure in the area of communication, even though this failure does not apply to his command of the native language but to other linguistic skills imposed upon him by the educational institution.

Linguistic interference in the education of Spanish-speaking children does not only affect subject matter instruction, it also corrupts the quality of all interactions between the teacher and the learners. In this respect, even a relatively simple matter such as the use of a name or mode of address may be sufficient to create a learning climate charged with negative electricity. For a student like José Mendez-Garcia, the problem begins with the process of school registration, and it may continue to haunt him throughout his entire academic life, corrupting his permanent record and undermining his relationship with all school personnel. Like most Spanish boys, José has two surnames indicating his paternal (Mendez) and his maternal (Garcia) lineages, but the secretary who registers him is not used to these dual designations and disregards "Mendez" (which she assumes to be a middle name), listing him officially as "Garcia, José." In so doing, she identifies him only by his mother's name, a procedure which brands him immediately with an insulting label of illegitimacy. Any explanation or protest voiced by José will be in vain for the secretary's expectations are those of Anglo-Saxon culture, where a person is entitled to any number of first and middle names but only to one family name.

Once he is registered and duly assigned to a classroom, José discovers once again that his nominative entity presents a problem for the teacher. Unable to master the correct pronunciation of his Christian name, she decides, without even consulting him, to change "José" into the more palatable "Joe," just as she has already arbitrarily replaced "Fredeswinda" with "Windy," and "Jesus" with "Jesse, Jay, or Jim." Thus, for the second time, in school, José Mendez-Garcia, alias Joe Garcia, finds his identity whittled down by an authority figure in accordance with norms which are demeaning to him, and against which he has

no protection.

The cavalier fashion in which educators handle foreign proper names is an appalling reflection of "the informal orientation of American people toward modes of address, which restricts their sensitivity to the far-reaching implications of naming procedures used in other countries." (Condon, 1976). Yet, a name is part and parcel of the individual who bears it, and it is charged with emotional meanings, derived from its association with family life. Accordingly, the casual treatment accorded by school personnel to a linguistic label which the student feels is really part of his inner self cannot help but be interpreted by him as an indication that these educators are either not interested in him, or are interested only in cutting him down to proper size.

What the Hispanic student fails to realize, as he struggles for personal survival in the midst of a seemingly hostile academic environment, is the extent to which his own culture has conditioned him to behave in a linguistic manner contrary to the norms of the educational institution. Blissfully unaware of committing any faux-pas, Jose calls his instructor "Teacher," instead of "Ms. Jones," according to the time-honored Spanish tradition of addressing a respected person by his or her proper title. Unfortunately, the connotation associated with this mode of address in Anglo-Saxon culture differs radically from that accorded to it in the Latino community. Instead of conveying the deference intended by the term "Maestro" or "Maestra," the English equivalent "Teacher" projects only a message of denigration and contempt, especially when its shortened, Hispanicized pronunciation approximates the irreverent label--"'Teach'!"--used by rebellious teenagers to taunt their teachers in ghetto schools.

In the face of what she detects as sheer insolence on the part of the student, Ms. Jones reactspredictably to the "perceived insult" with understandable outrage and sharp disapproval: "Don't call me

'Teach', call me Ms. Jones! You know better than that!" But, there lies precisely the crux of the problem for Jose simply does not know that his polite request has dreadfully miscommunicated. Thus, in his mind, Ms. Jones' incomprehensible anger is instantly translated into a terrifying feeling of disorientation which further deepens the loss of identity already experienced by him at registration time. Yet, at this point, there is very little the boy can do to modify the negative impression he has involuntarily created upon the teacher. And, since the quality and productivity of classroom interactions are influenced by the educator's perception of individual students, chances are that the academic future of Jose Mendez-Garcia, alias "Joe Garcia," will not reach any spectacular achievement, short of a miraculous intervention (Feshback, 1969; Good, 1970).

Cultural Factors in Non-Verbal Communication

Although language is considered the main vehicle for transmission of information from one person to another, various scholars have demonstrated the existence and importance of nonverbal factors in face to face interaction. Mehrabian (1972) assessed the relative proportions of meaning-bearing verbal and nonverbal signals in an utterance and summarized his findings in a formula now commonly accepted by communication specialists (See Table I). His major conclusion was that; contrary to popular belief, language auxiliaries (visual and auditory signals) actually carried a greater burden of meaning in conversation than the words themselves.

TABLE I

Mehrabian Formula on Communication Signals

Verbal Signals	7%
Nonverbal Signals	
Visual	55%
Auditory	38%

On the whole, oral communication between human beings may be examined from two major viewpoints--linguistic (or verbal) and non-linguistic (or non-verbal). The latter category may, in turn, be divided into three components: Kinesic, paralinguistic, and metalinguistic, each of which has been studied by experts in the fields of anthropology, psychology, sociology, communication and/or education.

KINESICS

The term "kinesics" refers to those visual auxiliaries which may (or may not) accompany speech; their function is to complement or replace, underline or contradict, and generally clarify the meaning embedded in the verbal message. Kinesic signals, sometimes known as "body language," include the different types of body movements, gestures and facial expressions which are utilized by human beings in face to face interaction. They operate below the threshold of consciousness and primarily, though not exclusively, at the level of affective communication (Birdwhistell, 1970).

All of the visual elements included in person to person communication are culture specific. Although every society has developed a range of physical markers which runs the universal gamut of human behaviors and emotions, each has determined singly the rituals to be observed, as well as the cultural meanings to be attached to them. And, since body language can be projected by the most basic of human motions (such as walking or sitting), as well as by the most minute of human movements (such as eye widening), its role as a potential agent of interference in crosscultural interaction cannot be overlooked.

The inseparability of kinesic signals from cultural identity has always been recognized in the field of dramatic art. Actors who are expected to portray a foreign individual do not restrict their characterization to a shift in the pronunciation, intonation,

or rhythm of their English sentences; they also modify their physical behavior in order to add a realistic "foreign accent" to their body language (Herman and Herman, 1943). These factors apply as well to bilingual individuals; among them the most effective speakers are admittedly those fortunate learners who have not only achieved a near-native command of the second language but have also succeeded in acquiring a mastery of its non-verbal characteristics. This was the case for Mayor LaGuardia in New York whose successful political campaigns were attributed in great part by his followers to his uncanny ability to communicate equally effectively with Italian, Yiddish and English-speaking constituents, addressing them in their own native tongue and capturing their attention with an appropriate, culture-specific set of gestures.

As it is found in the average American classroom, bilingualism is seldom accompanied by kinesic versatility, especially not at the level of perfection demonstrated by Mayor LaGuardia. In fact, the bilingual skills achieved by most Spanish-speaking children are rarely paralleled by similar accomplishments on their part in the area of bicultural behavior. Not unexpectedly, then, their inability to communicate visually in accordance with Anglo-Saxon norms results in the addition of a new negative dimension to their already ineffectual interaction with school personnel.

One classical example of conflicting gestural expectations in the classroom relates to the stance adopted by Hispanic youngsters when they are censured by an adult. In such circumstances, whether or not he has misbehaved, a student will generally stand in a somewhat hunched manner in front of his reprimander, looking down silently at the floor in the respectful or penitent posture prescribed by his culture group. This behavior is automatically interpreted by the Anglo-American adult as an admission of guilt. Furthermore, since eye contact stands in American culture as a mark of respect, a signal of sincerity or an expression of the student's readiness to accept a deserved punishment, the teacher reacts to the child's

lowered gaze by demanding peremptorily that "he look her in the eye!" The fact that he is psychologically and physically unable to do so by his cultural conditioning succeeds only in upsetting his admonisher and in earning him a reputation for recalcitrance and evasion.

Even in the course of normal, daily classroom interaction, Spanish learners find themselves at a distinctive kinesic disadvantage in attempting to communicate with their teacher. Byers & Byers (1972) who studied patterns of nonverbal signals in multiethnic classes found that cultural differences in a pupil's sense of timing and mode of signaling could prevent him from obtaining a needed response from the instructor. Their findings are illustrated in the problems experienced by Latino boys and girls when they seek to obtain the teacher's attention with the typically intense and deferential stare deemed appropriate in their community (Condon, 1976). All too often, this silent appeal for assistance will only succeed in creating an uncomfortable feeling within the recipient without conveying the intended message.

Should anyone ask the children why they did not ask for help instead of waiting silently for recognition, they will simply say that it is not polite to do so. And, because they are no more aware than their teacher is of their kinesic modus operandi, they will persist in these silent and unsuccessful SOS habits, despite the latter's insistence that they "speak up" whenever they need her input for a seatwork assignment. Eventually, the youngsters will become disheartened by their failure to secure a fair share of instructional attention. Concluding that they are strictly on their own in the classroom, they will no longer even attempt to become involved in any individual task requiring additional explanations. Since the actual reason for the pupils' nonparticipation in seatwork activities is not known to the teacher, different interpretations are likely to be formulated by her to explain this "abnormal" behavior on their part. Under her anxious scrutiny, what is a child's very human and normal

response to misperceived adult rejection becomes diagnosed erroneously as a "lack of initiative or interest in learning." Worse still, it may even be misconstrued as "a failure to grasp essential concepts, indicative of a serious intellectual limitation," "withdrawal from the group, due to potential social or emotional disturbances," or simply "communication handicap." And, in no time at all, these verdicts will be translated into an action list of referrals for Special Education.

HAPTICS

In terms of physical behavior, Hispanic students tend to be expansive as well as expressive in their use of hand and arm gestures, even when they are seated at their desks. Hence, they are frequently reminded by school personnel that their exuberant "gesticulations" are improper in the restrained context of educational institutions. This rich vitality in kinesic signaling among Spanish speakers extends as well into a related aspect of body language known as haptics which is concerned with the sense of touch. In this area of communication, messages are conveyed by means of direct body contact, more specifically through variations in the repetition and degree of pressure exerted by the interactors upon each other (Davis, 1972). In contrast with Latino culture where tactile communication is emphasized, Anglo-Saxon society tends to discourage interpersonal touch in all but intimate situations. While this propensity toward distant interaction strikes Spanish speakers as being a sign of unfriendliness and indifference, their own inclination to reach constantly for an interlocutor's shoulder or arm is apt to be misunderstood by an American English speaker as an irritating presumption of familiarity, or as a deliberate attempt at intimacy, either which to him represents an objectionable proxemic invasion. Yet, it should be remembered that Latino individuals see proximity as a necessary condition to establish an appropriate rapport with an interlocutor. Their

use of haptic signals in face-to-face communication is therefore, but a natural and essential extension of their proximate style of interaction.

At the secondary school level, the incongruity of haptic communication used by Hispanic teenagers may acquire overtones of aggressiveness and sexuality in the eyes of mainstream educators. But in the elementary grades, a Spanish child's unusual craving for tactile reassurance is likely to be interpreted as a sign of emotional immaturity or, depending upon the intensity of the teacher's reaction, as a signal of emotional or social majadjustment. And, indeed, such disturbances may well become stimulated in these pupils by the school's repeated denials and rejections of their need for physical contact with a concerned human being. Yet, how else could any educational institution foster self-reliance within the youngsters, if not by insisting that they learn to function with reasonable independence from authority figures?

PARALINGUISTICS

Paralinguistic signs constitute the auditory counterpart of kinesics in nonverbal communication. In this category is included a range of vocal markers which are used by speakers to convey meaning beyond that carried by the words themselves. They may replace or complement, highlight or contradict, the linguistic signals to which they are attached. Examples of such signifiers are vocal characterizers (laughing, whispering, or shouting) segregates ("uh-huh", "uh-uh," or "sh"); qualifiers (changes in intensity, pitch, or tempo); voice quality reflecting emotional states, voice set (thinness, clarity, or nasality), and peripheral sounds (such as coughing, clickings of the tongue, and the hesitation phoneme). (Crystal & Quirk, 1964).

Lambert (1970) investigated the effect of para-

linguistic differences in students' speech on the attitude of their teachers; he noted that a response given in a soft voice and with an appropriate intonation would earn a child a higher grade than one spoken in louder tones. Since these vocal cues are culturally-determined, they tend to increase the opportunities for conflict and misunderstanding between communicators of different backgrounds. On school ground, for instance, a regular conversation between two Spanish children may be perceived by a monolingual, English-speaking adult as a dispute likely to degenerate into a fight, simply because the higher pitch of normal Spanish conversation happens to coincide with that associated with anger in English discourse (Stockwell and Bowen, 1965). Conversely, the intonation and stress combination which serves to emphasize certain meanings in an English utterance tends to convey a message of anger and annoyance to a Spanish ear. In the case of children, the effect may easily bring on an emotional response--hurt feelings, weeping, or hostile reaction --which, because of its abrupt onset and seeming irrelevance, seems totally incomprehensible to the Anglo-American teacher. When repeated with sufficient frequency in the classroom, these apparently unprovoked outbursts will almost inevitably mark the pupil for referral and psychological examination by a Child Study Team.

METALINGUISTICS

One final aspect of nonverbal communication which is subject to potential cultural misinterpretation is that of metalinguistics, an area concerned with the transference of thought patterns and with the communicator's way of handling reality in a socially acceptable manner.

The majority of psychologists and sociologists today agree that because of the internalization and integration of mental habits into the personality of a human being occur in a specific cultural setting,

their outcome conforms to the perceptual styles which prevail in that particular community (Stewart, 1971). Thus, in order to function effectively when he is transplanted into an alien context, an individual must learn to categorize and respond to perceptual stimulations in new ways which are consonant with those of the host society. In short, he must adapt his mind processes to the requirements of the new environment (Cole, et al, 1971).

The difficulty of modifying one's thinking habits in response to external pressures is clearly illustrated by what takes place in the mind and speech of a person attempting to learn a foreign tongue. At first, the learner tends to transfer all the patterns of his native language (both verbal and nonverbal) into the new idiom. Little by little, however, he is able to recognize and internalize progressively more minute differences of pronunciation, vocabulary and grammar. If he is fortunate enough to possess a high aptitude for linguistic skills acquisition, he may eventually achieve an excellent command of the language. Nevertheless, despite the fact that he has actually learned to "think" in the foreign tongue, it is highly unlikely that he will ever be able to pass for a native speaker because his mode of expression does not reflect perfectly the unique style of the foreign way of thinking.

Kaplan (1966) investigated this metalinguistic phenomenon by examining some six hundred compositions written in English by foreign college students who came from different parts of the world. His analysis uncovered the existence of specific patterns of rhetoric illustrated in each writer's style which could be readily associated with a specific linguistic origin. In the area of Romance languages, the researcher concluded that the speakers' logic did not proceed in the direct, chronological line of reasoning favored by Anglo-Saxons, but progressed instead through successive layers of relevant digressions.

The divergent stylistic characteristics noted by Kaplan are critically highlighted in situations where the communicator's survival depends upon his ability to express thoughts effectively and in a culturally appropriate manner. In this respect, Hispanic youngsters who possess a good command of the English language still find themselves consistently at a disadvantage in school because of their inability "to come straight to the point" in their classroom responses. Whether they present a report orally or in writing, the results are identical: their performance is invariably censured by teachers along predictable lines, and the same "deficiencies"--lack of clarity, subjectivity, and unnecessary digressions--are noted by these educators in the Latino students' approach to the topic.

Because most Anglo-American educators are not, as a rule, aware of the real cause of the problem--cultural interference in linguistic and thought processes --they find it impossible to assist the bilingual child in his endeavors to match their stylistic expectations. All they can do is to criticize his work and show him how to improve it in order to achieve acceptable American English standards. What they are unable to explain, however, is how a mode of expression tested successfully by the child on family and friends in the Hispanic community can turn suddenly into a dismal failure when measured against the teacher's judgment in the academic environment.

Under the weight of repeated similar experiences the Latino student may become progressively so discouraged by his linguistic inadequacies that he may refrain from participating in class discussion and turn in meager, unimaginative written assignments which reflect his dwindling interest in intellectual exercises. In search of gratification, he may well turn to other, non-academic pursuits which fulfill his need for success but, at the same time place him in danger of joining the blacklist of "problem children" in school.

Closely related to the development of culture-

specific styles of perception and cognition is that of a preferred manner of acquiring knowledge. A number of researchers have demonstrated that many aspects of learning are determined by the type of cultural conditioning provided for an individual by his societal setting (Deutsch, 1967; Lesser, et al, 1965; Jensen, 1968). From the moment of birth a human being is exposed to continuous interactions with those selected aspects of reality which are highlighted in his social and physical surroundings, and even the very way in which those contextual interchanges occur is prescribed by the behavioral code of his culture group. Under the guidance of his parents and other adults in the community, a child thus becomes familiarized with his environment. And, in the process of gaining this information, he also develops a specific set of learning habits which he retains for the rest of his life.

The degree to which a student's thinking and learning patterns coincide with those prevailing in the educational institution determines in great part the extent of his potential for academic achievement. Glenn (1966) and Cohen (1969) have pointed out, for instance, that an abstract and analytical mode of thought tends to be remote from the world of images and perceptual responses, while a relational conceptual style may be characterized as concrete in nature and sensitive to the totality of factors perceived in the outside world. These views were later explored by Ramirez and Castañeda (1974) and by Castañeda, et al (1975) in an attempt to identify some of the variables interfering with the successful adaptation of Mexican-American boys and girls to the classroom environment.

In discussing the determinants of learning style, the second team of researchers stated their belief that:

> "---What the teacher observes to be a child's preferred mode or style of learning is the product

of a logical sequence which can be traced to the values and life style of a cultural group. Values stressed by a child's parents determine to a large extent how they teach and socialize the child. These experiences influence the child's preferred ways of learning and relating the environment in general." (Castañeda, et al, 1975, p. 22).

These observations were derived largely from the original work of Ramirez and Castañeda (1974) who had proposed a new theory of "bicognitive development" which related distinctive styles of learning--field-dependent (or field sensitive) and field-independent--to different ways of perceiving and organizing information. (See Appendix B for details). According to this theory, children who exhibit a field-dependent cognitive style tend to emphasize the social aspects of their environment: they are sensitive to people's moods, feelings, and attitudes, and they perceive things in a gestalt manner (as a whole). On the other hand, youngsters who demonstrate a field-independent cognitive style are apt to concentrate instead on the constituent parts of the whole, and to discern detail and factual information. The investigators contended that the former cognitive style seemed to be common among Hispanic children while the latter appeared to prevail among Anglo-American boys and girls. They also indicated that no clear separation existed between the two cognitive styles and that a child's learning orientation could be located at any point on this cognitive continuum. In consequence of variations in his sociocultural conditioning, a Hispanic pupil could, therefore, be partially bicognitive in his approach to the acquisition of knowledge.

The educational implications of the theory advanced by Ramirez and Castañeda are significant in the areas of classroom instruction, evaluation and teacher training. Among them is the need for educators to transform the traditional classroom into a culturally

democratic educational environment, where the needs of culturally different children may be met, and where the development of bicognitive skills may be facilitated for all the learners. In order to achieve these goals, schools will need to attract personnel trained in the techniques of culture-matched instruction, and to identify culture-fair measurement instruments capable of assessing the learning potential and academic achievement of all children, regardless of their ethnolinguistic backgrounds.

Since the testing programs implemented in American schools represent one of the major obstacles in the equalization of educational opportunities for Hispanic children, Ramirez and Castañeda (1974) devoted considerable attention to the traditional methods and materials used by educators in the evaluation of these students. They attributed the low scores achieved by these youngsters to two major factors: first, the predominance of field-independent contents in most tests (stress on problem-solving and attention to details); and second, the impersonality and competitive orientation of most Anglo-American test administrators.

From a metalinguistic viewpoint, it would seem that traditional American schools are ill-equipped to cater to the needs of their Hispanic population because they stress factors which are instructionally dissonant with the learning style favored by those students. These factors include the compartmentalization of knowledge (with field-independent approaches to instruction), the depersonalization of teaching (with increased use of technological devices minimizing teacher-learner interaction), and the devaluation of human factors (with excessive reliance on objective, statistical measurements). In such an environment, a Spanish child who needs encouragement at the affective level is more likely to become lost in the crowd of educational casualties than to secure from his teacher the warm personal interest and the subjective verbal support that he craves. Under the circumstances, the bias against minority learners which is inherent to

the Special Education referral process and is reflected in their higher rate of assignment to exceptional classes may actually be a blessing in disguise. Those Hispanic youngsters who suffer the most in an atmosphere of impersonal instruction are also those who are most likely to develop emotional and other problems reflected in their learning achievement. On their behalf, one may then be led to wonder if, because of their affective orientation, insecure Spanish students might not benefit more from the highly personalized attention given to all exceptional children than from the casual treatment accorded to other youngsters in regular classrooms. If that is the case, which is the most justifiable educational prescription for these students, that is to say the most productive in terms of maximizing their learning potential? Is it to provide them with a warm environment responsive to their emotional needs and, thereby, stimulate their desire to learn? Or, is it to expose them to an academically challenging education suited to their mental capacities and, thereby, nurture their intellectual development? Perhaps the answer lies in the creation of a third alternative: a program which would address equally effectively the different aspects of a learner's personality, one which would hopefully fulfill all of a child's learning needs, whether they arise from the cognitive, the affective or the psychomotor domains. The problem now is where to find the resources needed to plan and implement such an ideal course of instruction.

INTERFERENCE FACTORS ORIGINATING IN THE MAJORITY CULTURE

Social Character

Individuals who live and work in the same community tend to develop certain common features which are sometimes referred to as "social characters" (Martindale, 1967). These unique traits which form what may be called the collective personality of a culture group become evident only when they are examined in contrast with the behavioral characteristics of another community.

As early as 1946, Ruth Benedict (1946) speculated on the relationship between the psychology of the individual personality and that of the group of which he is a member. The concept which evolved from these investigations was that of "national character," sometimes referred to as "national characteristics," "social character," or "national psychology." It is considered somewhat controversial in the scholarly arena despite the fact that it has received the support of such renown authorities as Otto Klineber, George Murdock, Clyde Kluckhohn and Salvador de Madariaga. From the standpoint of crosscultural interaction, however, there is a pragmatic reason for accepting the existence of "group predispositions," both at the unconscious level of collectively shared attitudes toward reality and society, and at the concrete level of external behavioral manifestations. Such a concept facilitates the recognition and understanding of cultural differences between any two groups by providing a basis for the systematic comparison of categories of human behavior exemplified in members of these groups.

As it applies to education in a multiethnic society such as ours, the "social character" prevalent in the majority (middle-class, White, Anglo-American) culture has particular significance because it is the behabioral model enforced in the traditional school

system. And it is its imposition upon minority children which has resulted for them in a multiplicity of interaction conflicts and educational inequities.

In light of these facts, it is essential that Anglo-American educators not only recognize the existence of culturally differentiated life and learning patterns, but also become cognizant of their own cultural conditioning and its effect on their classroom assumptions, expectations, standards, and communication styles. Only through a knowledge of these factors will they be able to perceive the interference problems faced by minority children in school culture and, hopefully, be willing to guild the necessary bridge of crosscultural understanding between themselves and the learners.

Ethnocentrism and Its Corollaries

One of the by-products of cultural conditioning is that every human being tends to accept the behavioral style of his group as an expression of a universal "human nature," and to consider any deviation from these standards as contrary to nature and, therefore, unacceptable. This belief in the superiority of one's own way of life is called "ethnocentrism."

Every human being possesses ethnocentric tendencies but, in some people they may reach excessive proportions to the point of fostering prejudices which are often externalized by such individuals in discriminatory practices against members of other groups.

Another corollary of ethnocentrism is found in the proliferation of stereotypes--each stereotype being a predominantly negative, arbitrary and exaggerated generalization applied indiscriminately to all members of a particular community. Such beliefs are particularly dangerous because they preclude any objectivity in the evaluation of individual qualities

in any member of the stereotyped group.

To some extent then, ethnocentrism and its attitudinal adjuncts of prejudices and stereotypes must be considered as much a part of humanity as the attributes of language and culture. By virtue of his membership in a specific society, each man is automatically programmed to perceive members of his reference group in a positive manner, and all outsiders in somewhat negative terms in direct proportion to their deviation from the norms of the reference group. Thus, no individual, regardless of how liberal and open-minded he may believe himself to be, can ever by considered f ee of prejudices or stereotypes, nor can his overall behavior be interpreted solely as an expression of individual personality without viewing it in relation to the collective personality (social character) of his group.

Since individuals tend to judge other people unconsciously on the basis of their own cultural and personal knowledge and experiences, their ability to communicate with members of different communities may be affected adversely by unnoticed differences in cultural orientations. In this respect, Christian (1965) pointed out that the presence of certain "meanings" in one society and its absence in another create a hiatus in the potential interchange of messages between representatives of these two social groups which is extremely difficult to overcome and, therefore, constitutes a major threat to effective crosscultural communication. In order to minimize the interference effect of these cultural dissonances, it is essential that each individual engaged in crosscultural communication activities be thoroughly cognizant of his own societal conditioning as a means of detecting areas of conflict in face-to-face interaction. For the average educator this knowledge may be developed in two stages: first, a general review of basic data concerning the role of culture in human society; and second, an exploration of characteristic elements in the American way of life, with emphasis on the main-

stream culture which prescribes the norms of behavior implemented in educational institutions and, later on, in the world of work.

American Culture

In terms of education and employment, the majority group in multiethnic American society may be described as consisting primarily of white, middle-class, Anglo-Saxon, English-speaking individuals. Despite the fact that numerous, intra-cultural variations may be found within this particular group (as it is the case for all other communities), nevertheless, members of this majority culture do tend to share certain dominant modes of behavior, values, attitudes and beliefs which are reflected in their institutions (F. Kluckhohn, 1963). What complicates matters is that these "social characters, or characteristics" do not always constitute a logically constructed behavioral system in which each element serves as a reinforcement to the others. Instead, one often finds inner systematic inconsistencies which may be difficult to reconcile--for example, the basic incompatibility between the "Anglocentric" stress on personal achievement, its collective orientation, and its emphasis on individual freedom (Williams, 1961).

Keeping in mind the existence of intra-cultural variations (attributable to such factors as age, sex, occupation, religion, geographical location, socio-economic status, individual differences and the like), as well as the changes which occur in any society over a period of time in response to external and internal pressures, it is still possible to identify certain characteristics as typical of the American way of life, as they are exemplified in the majority culture (Platt, 1961). Among those which are most commonly accepted by cultural specialists in the United States are the following: action and achievement orientation, mobility in time and space, collectivism and coopera-

tion, individualism and self-reliance, egalitarianism, materialism, and optimism.

ACTION AND ACHIEVEMENT ORIENTATION

Americans are constantly engaged in struggling to conquer nature; their attitude towards life is activistic and instrumental and their dominant preoccupation is with "doing". (Kluckhohn and Strodtbeck, 1961). This tendency is reflected in a fast pace of living, an emphasis on technological achievement and an obsession with "procedures" and "agendas" as means of expediting action (Stewart, 1971). It is also manifested in common linguistic expressions such as: "a man of action," "a doer," "getting things done," "let's get it done," "course of action," "how are you doing?," "don't stand there, do something," and the like.

Related to this concept of action-orientation is the importance of achievement and the stress on competitiveness as an incentive to progress and success. Competition is used in this country as a primary method of motivating individuals in a group. While this dynamic conception of motivation lends itself admirably to the fulfillment of action-oriented goals, it does also endow the society which subscribes to it with the unmistakable quality of "drivenness" which disturbs so many foreign observers (Henry, 1963).

MOBILITY IN TIME AND SPACE

Space is treated in casual manner by most Americans as long as it does not threaten to confine the individual. They think nothing of changing residence or employment, or of undertaking a one-hour drive to work in the morning; but, on the other hand, they have an aversion to finding anyone "getting too close for comfort" (Hall, 1966). The warning expressed in the song

title "Don't Fence Me In" reflects this resistance to the restriction of personal freedom as well as to the limitation of physical space, as illustrated in the infrequency of properties enclosed by fences and the rarity of those surrounded by walls in this country (Condon, 1969).

In contrast with spatial dimensions which can be easily manipulated by man, time remains primarily outside the realm of his control. For this reason, it is treated as a valuable commodity in American society, with an appropriate corresponding emphasis on punctuality and a relentless technological quest for time-saving devices.

Recognition of the inexorable passage of time results also in a strong future-orientation which is reflected in short and long-range planning and in precise scheduling carrying penalties for deadline delays. It is also manifested in a "youth cult" which places less value on the experiences and wisdom of age than on the "hope of the future"--children. This view is consistent with the American stress on action, since youth is productive in terms of activities and age is equated with retirement and nonproduction.

COLLECTIVISM AND COOPERATION

In terms of human relations, individuals in this country are expected to cooperate impersonally with each other for the good of the entire society. Problems are solved by forming committees and by obtaining a consensus of everyone's opinion. This system is also exemplified in the American belief of the voting process as the "will of the majority." To some extent then, it may be said that people in this country tend to experience greater concern for the welfare of the collective society than for that of their immediate community (State Department of Foreign Service, (1971).

Cooperation may seem somewhat incompatible with the American stress on competition. However, both ideals may be achieved at the cost of a great deal of effort on the part of each individual, and they result in a "team spirit" of the kind noted in athletic events (Stewart, 1971). In other words, each individual learns to adjust his goals to those of the group and, with a commendable sense of fair-play, makes whatever accomodations are necessary to reach the intended common goal.

INDIVIDUALISM AND SELF-RELIANCE

Each American possesses the inalienable right to be free and to direct his own destiny, a right upheld by law and in courts of law where a man is considered innocent unless proven guilty. Accordingly, independence is encouraged by parents within their children at an early age, and is later on reinforced in the schools by the teachers. Whether they are married or not, young adults usually establish their own household away from home from the moment they are able to support themselves.

This individualism, expressed as a responsibility for one's own action and future, is paralleled by a belief in self-reliance, a determination to "stand on one's own two feet," and to "stand up and be counted" as a productive member of the larger society in true democratic fashion (Stewart, 1971).

Two major outcomes of this American stress on independence are the relative looseness of family ties and the informality of friendship interactions. Kinship obligations, for instance, tend to be restricted to the nuclear family, and relationships between friends are mostly kept at a casual level of involvement lest they intrude on the inner privacy of the individual (Kluckhohn, 1962). As a rule, friendships develop among people who share similar activities (Glenn, 1966). In

their interaction with outsiders, however, Americans have earned a reputation for openness and friendliness for, while they avoid making deep personal commitments to others, they do treat everyone they meet with an informality and directness not usually accorded to strangers elsewhere.

EGALITARIANSIM

The egalitarian spirit of American society is inextricably woven with the concept of individualism and the concern for equality in human interaction. Most inter-personal relations take place along horizontal lines, in accordance with each person's inclination to place himself on an equal footing with other individuals insofar as class and status are concerned. In this manner, the American identifies with an open social system where each man has an opportunity fo move up or down the social and economic ladder; he thus rejects the notion that man assumes his status in society through "special privileges" and as a right of birth (Fischer, 1976). According to this view, an individual should earn his place in the world through his actions rather than inherit it without efforts, simply as a result of his innate personal worth.

MATERIALISM

Materialism expresses itself in this country through the pursuit of material comforts and material goods. Americans are inclined to equate civilization and progress with high standards of living, success, and achievement, and ot hold a pervasive belief in the inviolability or private property (Steward, 1971).

This attitude is evidenced by the proliferation of labor-saving devices available to the average individual, the incredible array of personal goods

offered to consumers, the tendency to "keep up with the Joneses," and a general leaning toward what Eric Fromm has called the "marketing personality," a proclivity to see human beings as commodities which can be purchased or sold.

OPTIMISM

One important aspect of the American personality is reflected in the optimism with which people view life. Most individuals are firmly convinced that men and reality are good until proven otherwise; they are prone to look at the bright side of existence and to minimize adversity, with the expectation of an eventually happy outcome. This positive attitude toward life may have evolved naturally from the predominant Anglo-Saxon assumption that everything in nature and the physical world may be controlled by man (Kluckhohn and Strodtbeck, 1961). As McClelland (1961) pointed out, achievement-motivated persons take the initiative in decision-making, like challenges and are generally confident of success. This American creed is closely related to action-orientation and future achievement: individuals feel that nothing is impossible for a man who has determination and is willing to spare no effort in the achievement of his goal. They also believe that hard work and perseverance are ultimately rewarded by the attainment of one's objectives. Thus, the recipe for success is a simple one in America. It is embodied in the expression: "If at first you don't succeed, try and try again." (Fischer 1976). Even today, modern American religion tends to encourage this compulsion for work through its proclaimed faith in the perfectibility of man (Williams, 1961).

A major outcome of this activistic optimism may be seen in the outstanding technological achievements of this country, where problem-solving is an irresistible challenge, and success only a matter of time. It should be noted, however, that such dizzying heights

of accomplishments have not been reached without exacting their price on each individual. Indeed, the desire to conquer the unconquerable has now turned a nation of hard workers into one of "workaholics."

The external manifestations of mainstream American culture are found in all aspects of life throughout the country. In the mass media, for instance, the hero is frequently depicted as a man of action who, pitted against nearly insurmountable odds, nevertheless succeeds in overcoming them; or as a highly competitive and prosperous corporate executive who conquers management crises and defeats his competitors singlehandedly; or as a scientist who solves incredibly complex problems in time to save the world from seemingly inevitable destruction. Films and stories portray individuals who may agonize over dilemmas, but who eventually meet the challenge of their destiny to become better human beings and who, thus, enact the inescapably happy ending where good conquers evil and efforts are rewarded with tangible and usually material success.

In the aesthetic field, both modern music and art seem to be dominated by the concept of mobility: "rock and roll" beat and current dance fads demonstrate a hypnotic preoccupation with perpetual motion which is emphasized by kaleidoscopic whirling lights; paintings convey an illusion of movement; and modern sculpture is either mobile or protean and sometimes even "self-destructing."

At the national, state and local levels, government policies stress the collective good of the people through such measures as plans for urban development and improvement in standards of living, laws protecting the rights of the individual, taxation for public use, diffusion of power, election by majority consensus, involvement in foreign wars to preserve people's freedom, world distribution of Care packages, and formation of the "Alliance for Progress".

Above all, these characteristics are epitomized in a child-centered system of education dedicated to equal opportunity of learning and to the preparation of future productive citizens who are expected to perpetuate the American way of life. (See Appendix B for an outline of dominant American value orientations, as they are perceived by five leading American scholars).

Anglocentric Versus Hispanic Values in Education

The majority of Anglo-American educators are "Anglocentric" as well as monolingual and monocultural in their orientation by virtue of their upbringing and professional training in mainstream society. Consequently, they are not adequately prepared to handle the challenges of socializing and instructing children who come from different backgrounds. As a result of their past experiences, they are apt to judge atypical student behaviors as deviations from accepted social norms, requiring special remediation of the kind which is not always readily available in regular classrooms.

Some understanding of the extent to which a public school's viewpoints may conflict with those of non-Anglo parents and their children may be gained from a comparison of key concepts related to education in Anglo-American and Hispanic cultures. They are outlined in Table II. In reviewing the contents of this Table, however, several factors should be kept in mind.

1. *That "Anglo-American" culture refers to the way of life displayed by the majority white, middle-class, Anglo-Saxon group in the United States.*

2. *That "Hispanic" culture refers to traits which tend to be common among most Spanish-*

speaking individuals (regardless of their geographical origin or group affiliation), and which contrast with those exhibited by members of the majority Anglo-American group.

3. That within each set of cultural characteristics, variations will be found, which are due to differences in age, sex, location, occupation, religion, socioeconomic status, national origin, individual personality and the like.

4. That each noted cultural characteristic operates mainly at the unconscious level, and in conjunction with other traits.

5. That the degree to which each cultural concept is manifested externally varies from one person to another.

6. That the factor of chronological change is not reflected in the statements provided on Table II; and that it should be understood that all cultural factors are dynamic in nature and, therefore, subject to constant modification.

7. That the statements included in Table II are formulated in extreme terms, in order to establish clear contrasts between Anglo and Hispanic views, and that these cultural characteristics may be manifested more subtly in actual behaviors.

8. That the stated cultural factors tend to predominate among, but are not universally shared by, all the members in each group.

TABLE II

CONTRASTING KEY CONCEPTS IN ANGLO VERSUS HISPANIC EDUCATION

ANGLO-AMERICAN CULTURE	HISPANIC CULTURE
I. Education	I. Education
1. Focus: Child-centered	1. Focus: Family-centered
2. Function: Socialization (both education and instruction) (family-school roles coincide).	2. Function: Socialization (instruction only; the family "educates"; school as extension of family.
3. Goal: Develop child's highest potential (achieve what he can do).	3. Goal: Develop child's personality (be what he can be.)
4. Objectives: Teach good health, good character, good citizenship. Teach how to compete and initiate change. Teach basic academic skills.	4. Objectives: Teach respect of self and others. Learn how to cooperate and cope with change. Teach basic academic skills.
5. Teaching Style: Stresses active, two-way discussions and problem-solving.	5. Teaching Style: Stresses lectures, one-way presentations and memory exercises.
6. Discipline: Persuasive, based on explanation.	6. Discipline: Affective, based on scolding and shaming.
7. Class Behavior: Active interaction with teachers and peers.	7. Class Behavior: Refrain from interaction unless called upon to answer.
8. School Policies: Acceptance of "reasonable" rules (students and parents willing to challenge teachers).	8. School Policies: Acceptance of authority and educational expertise.
9. Teacher Role: Mediator of knowledge.	9. Teacher Role: Authority "figure".

TABLE II (Continued)

CONTRASTING KEY CONCEPTS IN ANGLO VERSUS HISPANIC EDUCATION

ANGLO-AMERICAN CULTURE	HISPANIC CULTURE
10. Student Role: Active participant in learning process.	10. Student Role: Passive recipient of knowledge.
11. Motivation: Competition	11. Motivation: Family honor and respect.
12. Use of Language: Direct, objective, concise (Language= tool of communication).	12. Use of Language: Indirect, subjective, digressive (Language= aesthetic experience).
13. Reasoning: Inductive (principles elicited from concrete examples).	13. Reasoning: Intuitive (principles applied to examples).
14. Tests: Primary means of assessing student potential and achievement.	14. Tests: Only one means of assessing student potential and achievement.
15. Extracurricular Activities: An integral part of school education.	15. Extracurricular Activities: Not a part of school education.
II. The Individual	II. The Individual
1. Importance of deeds.	1. Importance of personal relationships.
2. Active manipulation of people and things.	2. Affective influencing of people.
3. Pragmatic, activistic approach to knowledge. (Thought is the result of pragmatic experience).	3. Intuitive approach to knowledge. (Thought is the result of subjective experience).
4. Learning style: Connotative, goal-oriented (learn by doing).	4. Learning Style: Affective, people-oriented (learn by watching and listening).

TABLE II (Continued)

CONTRASTING KEY CONCEPTS IN ANGLO VERSUS HISPANIC EDUCATION

ANGLO-AMERICAN CULTURE	HISPANIC CULTURE
5. Work: An end in itself.	5. Work: OK in moderation.
6. Life Goal: Comfort and success (to have more).	6. Life Goal: Personal serenity (to be more).
7. Value placed on capacity for action, work, and objectivity.	7. Value placed on capacity for endurance, feeling, and creativity.
8. Faith in society (collectivism).	8. Faith in family and friends (familism).
9. Fluid, casual relationships.	9. Lasting, close relationship.
10. Equality of sexes.	10. Male dominance (machismo)
11. Optimism toward life (human nature is good).	11. Pessimism toward life (human nature is to be distrusted).
12. Individualism (self reliance).	12. Individualism (personality and honor).
13. Clinical approach to reality: instrumental, scientific, efficient and impartial.	13. Subjective approach to reality: intuitive, imaginative, aesthetic and sensorial.
14. Faith in statistical measurements.	14. Faith in personal judgment.
15. Dignity earned through action.	15. Dignity intrinsic to man.
16. Equality (moral); equal life opportunities with impersonal competition.	16. Equality (spiritual); hierarchy of life opportunities facilitated by personal relationships.
17. Belief that human condition can be improved.	17. Belief that human condition cannot be changed.
18. Plan for the future.	18. Live for today.
19. Change is progress.	19. Change is to be avoided.
20. Favoritism, negatism frowned upon.	20. Obligation to favor family and friends.
21. Compulsive time orientation.	21. Extended time orientation.

Long ago, Salvador de Madariaga (1931) summarized accurately the basic incompatibility of the world-views held by English, French, and Spanish speakers, when he stated that each group operated from different psychological centers of gravity: psychomotor for English speakers (body-action), cognitive for the French (intellect-analytical thought), and affective for the Spanish (heart and soul - "passionate reaction"). These observations are still valid today, and one of the primary causes of conflicts between Anglo-American educators and Hispanic students can be traced directly to their divergent reactions to life: pragmatic and factually based for the former; intuitive and subjectively inspired for the latter. These differences are further aggravated by the Anglo-American inclination to make value judgments based on bold, black-or-white comparisons between observed and "ideal" behaviors (Stewart, 1971), and to moralize on observed situations rather than to relate them to their appropriate cultural referent (Hsu, 1972). Thus, a student's speech tends to be characterized by teachers as "good" or "bad," rather than "standard" or "non-standard" English; and his culturally different patterns of behavior are apt to be described by them as "wrong", rather than "inappropriate" actions. And, as a result of this "hidden curriculum," a child's entire heritage becomes prey to a continuous, if unintended, process of erosion which may succeed eventually in destroying his self-concept and, along with it, his chances for equal opportunities in education and in life.

Testing In Crosscultural Context - A Model Analysis

Evaluation is one of the most crucial activities carried out by teachers besides instruction, for the results of tests determine the status of a child in school, his potential for learning, and the type of instructional program which will be prescribed for him (particularly in the case of exceptional students).

The deleterious effect of value conflicts on test results and testing behavior has been repeatedly brought to light in a number of studies which were reported on in an earlier section. Once the parameters of potential cultural interference have been defined, however, it becomes possible for the teacher to analyze problem situations and to select among alternative actions the one most likely to produce positive results for the student. For example, H. Wilson (1968) has demonstrated that the competitive aspect of Anglo-American culture serves as a strong deterrent to the successful performance of Mexican-American children on tests. Given this information, a culturally aware educator should be able to handle effectively a specific test situation of the kind which is described in the following example and involves a Hispanic boy struggling with an English Reading Test.

PROBLEM SITUATION

1.	*Circumstances:*	*A Reading Test* *Grade 4 (Public School)* *Predominance of Spanish-speaking pupils in the class.*
2.	*Individuals:*	*The teacher - A woman (Mrs. Smith)* *An experienced teacher (ten years)* *No knowledge of Spanish* *Some training in crosscultural awareness* *The pupil - A boy (Juan)* *Ten years old* *New in the school* *Functionally bilingual* *Native language: Spanish* *Partly educated in his native country (one year)*

3. *Problem:* *Juan sits at his desk quietly. He keeps biting his pencil and looking into space instead of working on the test.*

4. *Potential Outcome:* *Test failure (or low score) Potential interpretation as signal of exceptionality. If problem is repeated: referral to Child Study Team, followed by new tests. If nonadaptive behavior is confirmed: assignment to Special Education.*

MODEL ANALYSIS

The key to a constructive crosscultural analysis of factors underlying the child's behavior will be found by seeking the answers to three fundamental questions:

1. *What skills are needed by a child to perform satisfactorily on a test, beside a fair amount of subject matter knowledge?*

2. *What cultural factors in the child's background may have impaired the acquisition of these skills?*

3. *What individual factors may interfere in the child's performance of the task?*

These three areas of investigation are discussed below.

What Skills are Required?

In order to succeed reasonably well on any examination, a child has to acquire an adequate command of subject matter information, and to do so, he must be able to handle the official medium of instruction competently. Without this linguistic competence, he is unable to assimilate the concepts which are presented to him in class, and to reinforce this learning through home study. However, the sole possession of these skills and knowledges cannot guarantee the pupil's success on a test, unless it is founded on a cornerstone of those school-oriented techniques, attitudes and thought patterns which enable him to meet effectively the stress of a competitive situation. These prime requisites include such factors as common motives and values for tester and testee; task-oriented mobilization of student faculties (instrumental time adaptation to testing conditions; overcoming of fear to be "classified" in accordance with test results; power of concentration on abstract items); student competence (in data collection, intellectual observation and cognitive interpretation); and even student proficiency in the mechanics of pencil-and-paper testing procedures.

What Cultural Factors Must Be Considered?

In reviewing the divergent values of American and Spanish-speaking societies, as they apply to the subject of educational testing, one cannot help but notice how these ideals stand practically in diametrical opposition to each other. In the situation at hand, for instance, we have a boy, Juan, who brings to school a network of conditioned behaviors consistent with the cooperative trend of Hispanic life, but contrary to the competitive spirit of American existence. Hence, the very act of test-taking goes counter to the culturally-bred instincts of the child who, quite naturally, does not view the event in the same way the teacher sees it and who, therefore, cannot assume the

proper task-oriented role expected of a student. Instead, he conforms to the standards of "proper" scholastic conduct set by his ethnic community: he sits at his desk quietly, not calling attention upon himself, waiting for the teacher's directives. But, this external sign of "nonadaptive behavior" on his part conceals a host of causative factors, hidden below the threshold of consciousness, which must be taken into consideration in analyzing the situation if positive action is to be taken by the teacher.

Among those cultural variables originating in Juan's home experience which may have conditioned him to behave nonadaptively in a test situation are the following: time orientation, role perceptions, (teacher-student), achievement motivation, goal orientation, and task perception.

Time Orientation

Juan has been raised in an extended-time oriented environment where no one is compelled to hurry and everyone works at his own speed. The very idea of a timed task (that is to say, a race against time) is a meaningless, alien concept which does not fit into the mental set of the student.

Role Perceptions

Hispanic parents admonish their children to be "good students"--to sit quietly, to watch and listen to the teacher and to wait for his questions. According to this protocol, Juan cannot initiate any request for clarification; instead, he should wait for the teacher to notice his need for assistance.

Motivation

Juan has been taught that human dignity is intrinsic to all human beings and that it is unseemly to demonstrate one's ability at the expense of others. Grades earned on a test will not increase the respect already due to him "as a man" and may result in a loss of "face" for someone else. So, why should he struggle for a high score on the test? Que será, será. Juan will do what he can within the limits of his ability...and his luck.

Goal Orientation

The scientific measurement of a human being's potential is inconsistent with the Hispanic belief in the intrinsic value of the individual. No statistical assessment can ever provide the true "measure" of a man. The goal of testing is, therefore, meaningless and the task merits minimal attention.

Task Perception

Tasks involving meaningful interaction between friends and family members are important in the Hispanic community. Test taking is an impersonal task requiring the student to work alone; it, therefore, lacks the necessary motivational ingredient of interpersonal involvement.

What Individual Factors May Affect the Situation?

Why is Juan not working on the test? Some of the possible reasons are as follows:

1. He may not know how or where to begin because:
   (a) He has never seen such a test before, or
   (b) He does not understand the questions, or
   (c) He has not understood the teacher's explanations on how test questions are to be answered.
2. He may be unable to concentrate on the task because of a home-related problem, such as:
   (a) Crowded conditions (or excessive heat or cold) which resulted in a lack of sleep during the previous night, or
   (b) His mother's expectation that he escort his sister home, despite the fact that she leaves school one hour before he does, or
   (c) His worry over the illness of his Aunt Rosa.
3. He may be afraid and confused in a new environment because:
   (a) He does not know the teacher, or
   (b) He does not know what is expected of him, or
   (c) He does not know why he has been given the test.
4. He may be waiting for help because:

(a) *He "knows" that he is not supposed to ask questions of the teacher, or*

(b) *He does not know how to ask questions to gain the information he needs, or*

(c) *He is afraid of asking a question in English.*

5. *He may be ignoring the test because:*

(a) *He cannot read English well enough to understand the questions.*

(b) *The test is too hard for him.*

(c) *He thinks it is better not to try than to fail the test.*

Courses of Action

Whatever may be the reason(s) for Juan's behavior, the situation must be resolved if he is to learn how to function effectively in the academic environment. Since Juan is a new pupil in the classroom, there is no way for the teacher to reason out the most probable cause(s) for his non-participating behavior. Under the circumstances, the most logical conclusion is to test each possibility, starting with the most obvious one--the likelihood of a language or reading problem. In any event, a thorough interpretation of the situation will have to take into account both the "surface" and "deep" interference structures of the boy's interaction with his new environment, that is to say: the visible symptoms of academic inadjustment, as well as the hidden lack of cultural adaptation.

In terms of immediate strategies, the teacher may opt for one of the following alternatives:

1. *Try to draw the child out in order to find out what is bothering him. This*

approach may win Juan's confidence and provide the teacher with the necessary information to help the boy adjust to classroom requirements.

2. *Help him start the test by providing the necessary explanations and asking "leading questions" to stimulate his thinking process. This technique may reassure the boy and clarify the task for him.*

3. *Ignore him altogether. Such an action may reinforce existing negative self-concept, unless the strategy is intended to avoid calling attention to Juan's "inadequacy" until it can be discussed with him privately.*

4. *Tell Juan to "get busy" and stand over him to make sure he does the work. Bullying the child (especially a newcomer to the class) in this manner is not a productive pedagogical strategy to be recommended under any condition. It only fosters negative reactions on the part of the student in terms of learning attitudes and classroom orientation.*

In such circumstances, a teacher's behavior in response to that of the child will be determined to a large extent by the individual's style of personal interaction, his perception of the total class orientation, and his receptivity to the emotional, intellectual, and cultural struggles of one particular boy in a class of some thirty odd students. Yet, other factors may also affect the situation: a Spanish boy will probably find it easier to relate to a man than to a woman teacher; and a Spanish-speaking instructor will very likely be more successful in gaining the boy's confidence than an English-speaking educator.

On a long-range basis, however, the problem experienced by Juan may be solved by providing him with a transitional period of scholastic adaptation, during which time he will be trained gradually, by the teacher, to take tests in his stride. Classroom techniques which may prove to be effective in achieving this goal are as follows:

1. *Using verbal, instead of written evaluation.*
2. *Using objective (instead of subjective) questions.*
3. *Using concrete items, and avoiding abstractions.*
4. *Using role-playing situations as a basis for evaluation.*
5. *Using group activities in which everyone shares a role, subject to unobtrusive evaluation.*
6. *Avoiding evaluation during times of ceremonial occasions (in both American and foreign cultures).*
7. *Allowing extra time for written tests.*
8. *Familiarizing the pupils with the objectives and format of tests and testing programs in school.*
9. *Training pupils in asking and answering questions.*
10. *Using sample tests as ungraded classroom exercises.*

Above all, there is a need for the teacher to create a viable educational climate for Juan and other Hispanic students by gearing academic activities to their achievement level, by interpreting their "deviant" behaviors in the light of known Anglo/Hispanic cultural interferences, and especially by making it possible for them to acquire the skills needed to function

adequately in American schools without rejecting their own cultural and linguistic heritage. Unless these measures are implemented, the majority of Spanish-speaking children will continue to be slated for academic under-achievement if not failure; and far too many of them will find themselves relegated to Special Education classes where neither the teacher nor the curriculum is prepared to meet their unique, though not "exceptional" (in the academic sense of the term) educational needs.

CHAPTER 4

National and State Legislation on Special Education

Federal rules and regulations for Public Law 94-142 "The Education for All Handicapped Children Act of 1975" became operative on October 1, 1977, after the rules and regulations for Section 504 of the Rehabilitation Act of 1973 had taken effect on June 1, 1977. These regulations require schools to provide a free and appropriate education for handicapped students and prohibit any form of discrimination against these children. All states must comply with these federal requirements.

Public Law 94-142 includes the following provisions:

1. *It requires the early identification of handicapped children.*

2. *It prescribes "complete service" for them.*

3. *It guarantees due process (service and placement).*

4. *It provides for in-service training and staff development.*

5. *It requires mainstreaming - a conscientious effort to place handicapped children into the "least restrictive environment" appropriate to their needs.*

6. *It insures that testing, screening and assessment procedures do not discriminate because of language or cultural differences by requiring the use of ethnically appropriate and nondiscriminatory tests.*

7. *It assures an individualized plan and program for each handicapped child.*

8. *It provides for an appropriate educational program for each handicapped child at no cost to his parents.*

9. *It guarantees that wards of state will have a surrogate parent.*

10. *It makes provisions for the identification and special education of handicapped, gifted and talented children.*

11. *It assigns to Local Educational Agencies responsibility for the supervision and education of all children in the district, regardless of the severity of their handicaps.*

12. *It assures that children are not handicapped by removal from the regular classrooms.*

13. *It assures that children are not handicapped by placement in regular classrooms.*

14. *It assures the removal of all barriers preventing or restricting educational opportunities.*

With respect to Spanish-speaking exceptional children, several other legislations enacted to protect the rights of individual children in the public school system have a particular significance. They include the following: the Civil Rights Act of 1964, Title VI; PL 93-230 (Education of the Handicapped

October, 1969); PL 93-380 (an amendment to Part B of PL 93-230); Title IX of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 (1972); and PL 94-142 (Education for All Handicapped Children October 15, 1975).

Title IX of the Civil Rights Act (1972) banned discrimination against any person because of their sex. As applied to educational institutions, this law rendered illegal the use of sex-discriminatory means in the placement or treatment of handicapped children.

According to Gordon Alley and Carol Foster (1978); PL 93-230 includes specific standards relating to testing and assessment. The following two standards are included as part of the requirements for state plans. (pg. 2):

1. Failure to adopt and implement procedures to ensure that test materials and other assessment devices used to identify, classify, and place exceptional children are selected and administered in a manner which is nondiscriminatory in its impact on children of any race, color, national origin or sex. Such testing evaluation materials and procedures must be equally appropriate for children of all racial and ethnic groups being considered for placement in special education classes. In that regard procedures and tests must be used which measure and evaluate equally well all significant factors related to the learning process, including but not limited to consideration of sensorimotir, physical, sociocultural and intellectual development, as well as adaptive behavior. Adaptive behavior is the effectiveness or degree with which the individual meets the standards of personal independence and social responsibility expected of her

or his age and cultural group. Accordingly, where present testing and evaluation materials and procedures have an adverse impact on members of a particular race, national origin, or sex, additional or substitute materials and procedures which do not have such an adverse impact must be employed before placing such children in a special education program.

2. Failure to assess individually each student's needs and assign her or him to a program designed to meet those individually identified needs.

PL 93-380 (1974) specifically required that in order to receive federal funds for state education, the state had to develop a plan which would:

> (13) provide procedures for insuring that handicapped children and their parents or guardians are guaranteed procedural safeguards in decisions regarding identification, evaluation and educational placement of handicapped children including, but not limited to (A) (i) prior notice to parents or guardians of the child when the local or State Educational agency proposes to change the educational placement of the child, (ii) an opportunity for the parents or guardians to obtain an impartial due process hearing, examine all relevant records with respect to the classification or educational placement of the child, and obtain an independent educational evaluation of the child, (iii) procedures to protect the rights of the child when the parents or guardians are

not known, unavailable, or the child is a ward of the State including the assignment of an individual (not to be an employee of the State or local educational agency involved in the education or care of children) to act as a surrogate for the parents or guardians, and (iv) provision to insure that the decisions rendered in the impartial due process hearing required by this paragraph shall be binding on all parties subject only to appropriate administrative or judicial appeal." (Public Law 93-380, Title VIB, Sec. 612(d)(13A).

Another specification in this law required handicapped children to be placed in the least restrictive setting. Accordingly, the states were required to adopt:

> "(B) procedures to insure that, to the maximum extent appropriate, handicapped children, including children in public or private institutions or other care facilities are educated with children who are not handicapped, and that special classes, separate schooling, or other removal of handicapped children from the regular education environment occurs only when the nature or severity of the handicap is such that education in regular classes with the use of supplementary aids and services cannot be achieved. " (Public Law 93-380, Title VIB, Sec. 612 (d) (13B).

Most explicit of all were the rules and

regulations established by Public Law 94-142 (1975). Part B of the Education of the Handicapped Act (45 CFR Part 121a) defined the basic procedures which were used in the evaluation of all handicapped children, stating:

> (1) that tests and other evaluation materials are provided and administered in the child's native language or other mode of communication; (2) that no single criterion for determining an appropriate educational program for a child; and (3) that the evaluation is made by a multidisciplinary team including at least one teacher or other specialist with knowledge in the area of suspected disability.

This law also included provisions which were intended to meet the needs of culturally and linguistically atypical children. Both evaluation and placement procedures were prescribed in the following manner:

> 121a532-Evaluation procedures. State and local educational agencies shall insure, at a minimum, that:
> (a) Tests and other evaluation materials:
> (1) Are provided and administered in the child's native language or other mode of communication, unless it is clearly not feasible to do so;
> (2) Have been validated for the specific purpose for which they are used; and

(3) Are administered by trained personnel in conformance with the instructions provided by their producer;

(b) Tests and other evaluation materials include those tailored to assess specific areas of educational need and not merely those which are designed to provide a single general intelligence quotient;

(c) Tests are selected and administered so as best to insure that when a test is administered to a child with impaired sensory, manual, or speaking skills, the test results accurately reflect the child's aptitude or achievement level or whatever other factors the test purports to measure, rather than reflecting the child's impaired sensory, manual, or speaking skills (except where those skills are the factors which the test purports to measure);

(d) No single procedure is used as the sole criterion for determining an appropriate program for a child, and

(e) The evaluation is made by a multidisciplinary team or group of persons, including at least one teacher or other specialist with knowledge in the area of suspected disability.

(f) The child is assessed in all areas related to the health, vision, hearing, social and

emotional status, general intelligence, academic performance, communicative status and motor abilities. (Federal Register, August 23, 1977, pp. 42496-42497).

The implementation of these laws (including provisions for legal recourse in the event of noncomplance) was insured by the creation of a Due Process of Law system to render decisions in cases where student's rights might have been denied.

Since the enactment of PL 93-380, all states have been required to adopt plans which guarantee due process in educational decisions. In order to qualify as a recipient of federal funds for education, a state must submit evidence indicating the existence of such a plan. Details relative to those federal requirements are available in a manual which compiles information from several sources--the Special Training Project of the National Association of State Directors of Special Education, the Development and Evaluation of State and Local Special Education Administrative Policy Manuals Project of the State-Federal Information Clearinghouse for Exceptional Children, and the Council for Exceptional Children (Abeson, et al, 1975).

The procedures which have become accepted as standard in the identification, evaluation and educational placement of handicapped children are stated thus in the above manual (pg viii):

1. *Timely and written notice must be given prior to the identification, evaluation, or educational placement of a handicapped child.*

2. *An opportunity to respond to the substance of such notice must be provided.*

3. *A hearing must be held, if necessary, in which the child and his parent, guardian, or surrogate and/or their representative, such as legal counsel of their own choosing, will have an opportunity to review and challenge all evidence (including relevant school records), cross examine all witnesses, present evidence, obtain an independent evaluation, and receive a complete and accurate record of the proceedings.*

4. *The burden of proof as to the recommended action must be borne by the education agency through the presentation of appropriate evidence.*

5. *The hearing officers will make a decision solely on the evidence presented at the hearing.*

6. *Opportunity must exist for the parties to appeal the decision of the hearing officer.*

These recommendations are included in Appendix D in the form of an Evaluation and Placement Chart, along with examples of suggested Due Process Procedures and forms which have been used by schools in the past.

The advantages of the Due Process law are quite clear with respect to the handicapped student and parents, but they are also evident with respect to educators. Among the most significant factors to be noted are the following:

1. *A parent can hold professionals accountable for their decisions. This requirement*

fosters a positive climate based on honesty for parent-school interaction.

2. Individually designed education programs are an expected outcome of this climate.

3. The additional resources needed in the areas of new personnel, physical facilities and finances to implement the required education are made known to the public.

4. Periodic reviews of the child's achievement in relation to the initial goals provide an intelligent assessment of his educational progress.

5. School administrators are able to adopt a new public-relations approach based on a candid disclosure of what can and cannot be expected of the institution.

6. Despite the presence of occasional parental resistance, educators are able to assess the needs of all children and to meet the needs of those requiring Special Education assistance.

7. Due Process procedures provide educators with the authority and ability to act in the best interests of children.

With respect to Spanish-speaking exceptional children, the new legislation introduces four measures which are intended to prevent improper assessment. They are:

1. Translation of traditional tests into the language of the child.

2. Norming of these tests on specific groups.

3. Administration of tests by an examiner

from the child's own ethnic group.

4. *Identification and teaching of the competencies required by those children for survival in the majority culture.*

Of these four measures, the first one has proved to be the least effective. Traditional tests have frequently been translated into the child's language in the past, but their culture fairness has been seriously questioned by the findings of studies such as the one carried out by Hickey on the Peabody Picture Test (Hickey, 1972). Pluralistic norms seem to have been somewhat more effective in equalizing assessment procedures for culturally different youngsters, yet they suffer limitations with respect to relevancy, reliability and bias. The option of using an examiner from the child's own ethnic group seems ideal in theory, but in practice, such persons may unconsciously react negatively toward a child who comes from a background which they, themselves, have succeeded in casting off. Finally, the fourth method contains its own seed of defeat in that it automatically places a higher value on the majority group's language and culture than on that of the child.

Since each of the proposed measures seems to be flawed in some respect, it has been suggested that the use of conventional psychological examinations be discontinued for culturally different children until truly nondiscriminatory tests become available, or that innovative procedures be designed and field-tested while the search continues for the identification of tests capable of measuring accurately the potential of all children in school.

MAINSTREAMING

A key principle underlined in Public Law 93-380 is the required placement of handicapped children in the "least restrictive environment."

The term which has been coined to designate this concept is "mainstreaming". Its underlying assumption is that there are many options in the regular school program which can provide exceptional children with educational experiences suited to their individual needs. Contrary to prevailing popular interpretations, mainstreaming does in no way mandate that all exceptional children be incorporated into regular classes; it is simply intended to prevent an unnecessary (and harmful) segregation of handicapped children from their more privileged peers. According to the law, each state is thus expected to establish:

> "procedures to insure that, to the maximum extent appropriate, handicapped children, including children in public or private institutions or other care facilities, are educated with children who are not handicapped, and that special classes, separate schooling, or other removal of handicapped children from the regular education environment occurs only when the nature or severity of the handicap is such that education in regular classes with the use of supplementary aids and services cannot be achieved satisfactorily." (Public Law 93-380, Title VIB, Sec. 612 (d) 13B).

The due process law requires that schools consider carefully all educational alternatives which might benefit an exceptional child, rather than just assign him to a special class or school because of his handicap, where he/she might remain "classified" for the rest of his/her life. In all cases, the school must accept the "burden of proof" for the child's classification and placement.

Although some educators do equate "placement in the least restrictive environment" with a mandatory regular classroom assignment, most enlightened pro-

fessionals reject such a narrow interpretation of mainstreaming. They are aware that educational programs are not strictly compartmentalized and insulated from one another, but are instead structured along a continuum of learning experiences which are intended to accommodate variations in the academic potential of the students, including that of handicapped learners. They also realize that for some youngsters the "least restrictive environment" may not be a regular classroom, but rather a special class or a special school and, in some cases, a residential setting for those who are severely handicapped.

Under the circumstances, the prescription of a correct instructional program for every individual exceptional child presents difficulties which cannot be easily resolved even by the most experienced Special Education specialists. These problems are multiplied whenever placement decisions concern youngsters who are of different linguistic or cultural backgrounds. For these students, the selection of an optimum learning environment raises questions which are apparently insoluble at the present time with respect to the accurate assessment of their learning needs and limitations, since the evaluative means now at the disposal of educators are normed almost exclusively on the American, English-speaking mainstream culture group, and their applicability to other groups is at best controversial.

In light of these facts, it seems essential that steps be taken to insure the proper identification and diagnosis of learning handicaps in children, regardless of their backgrounds, as well as the selection of appropriate educational programs designed to counteract these handicaps if educators are to fulfill effectively the new mainstreaming mandate established by Public Law 93-380.

CHAPTER 5

SPECIAL EDUCATION AND SPANISH-SPEAKING CHILDREN

THE CURRENT SITUATION

There appears to exist considerable research evidence to suggest that "normal" Hispanic children are frequently misassigned to Special Education classes, and that exceptional Spanish-speaking youngsters are often improperly placed in programs which are not suited to their needs. The 1973 Fleishman report, for instance, claimed that a disproportionately large percentage of the students enrolled in classes for the mentally retarded were of Hispanic background (actually 30%). Hill (1975) confirmed this finding in her investigation of the referral process for the Educable Mentally Retarded in New Jersey Schools. The Hill study showed that the ethnic ratio of those New Jersey school populations included in the sample was not maintained in EMR classes. (A reverse discrepancy of twenty-five per cent was found for the dominant group of Anglo pupils--that is to say, 54% of the total school population; but only 29% of the EMR population.

The Special Education mislabeling and misplacement of Latino youngsters in American schools may be traced primarily to the latter's reliance on procedures and tests, in the identification and evaluation of exceptionalities, which are linguistically and

culturally irrelevant to the target population. In this respect, White (1973) criticized educators for using standardized tests and ignoring the fact that test norms are based on an incomplete range of variables which includes sex, age, and socio-economic background, but excludes all cultural factors. And Wilson (1971) pointed out quite accurately that most teachers and Special Education specialists are apt to be mistaken in their analyses of emotional or psychological problems exhibited by minority students, diagnosing them as the causes of learning difficulties rather than as the products of enforced acculturation and miseducation. Not unexpectedly, then, the ensuing educational prescription falls short of its intention since it fails to eliminate the actual source of the problem and, all too often, succeeds only in aggravating its effect.

With respect to their Spanish-speaking student population, American schools have revealed on the whole an incredible ignorance of the psychological stresses and normal restrictions placed by language-culture differences on a child's ability to learn and to survive in an academic environment. Accordingly, Hispanic "problem" youngsters have been frequently referred by educators to Special Education programs on such superficial evidence as "linguistic handicap," "social maladjustment," or "low IQ scores" without any further investigation into the nature and origin of the suspected handicap. Such practices must be discontinued; they are not only to be rejected as educationally unsound and socially indefensible, but also condemned as a form of intellectual homicide since they stigmatize children for life, deny them the chance of developing their talents to full potential, and ultimately restrict their future career options.

While linguistic restrictions in a foreign speaker become immediately evident to any observer, divergences in cultural behaviors which are associated with a foreign origin are less likely to be noted

as potential barriers to communication. Yet, it has been shown that cultural factors do, indeed, play an important role in a teacher's perception of learning handicaps and behavioral exceptionalities. Ross (1974) demonstrated that Hispanic children do exhibit unique cultural traits in the school environment which are distinguishable from those of Anglo-American children, and which are the combined products of their home culture and external, environmental influences. Bucchioni (1965) described the effect of contextual factors on members of non-mainstream groups in his study of Puerto Rican children, when he stated that for these youngsters, the culture of the classroom could be described as a composite of "curriculum acted out", interaction with middleclass Anglo teachers, and Puerto Rican cultural traits modified by contact with lower class social patterns.

Ross' (1974) study also indicated that Hispanic teachers could identify and categorize more accurately the culturally-determined behavior of Puerto Rican children than their Anglo colleagues who had had little or no previous contact with representatives of this Spanish-speaking group. Ross' findings, therefore, confirmed that an individual's cultural conditioning did control to some extent his perception and expectations of other people's behaviors, and that the accuracy of these views might be expected to be considerably less precise in a crosscultural situation. They also suggested that it would be unrealistic to anticipate that educators who have not themselves experienced life in another country, could become aware of cultural differences among their students, and of the problems encountered in school by children of different cultural and linguistic backgrounds. Unfortunately, this lack of awareness and understanding on the teachers' part tends to result almost inevitably in the development of negative attitudes on their part toward minority learners. With Spanish-speaking students, these attitudes may be manifested in a number of ways, such as:

1. *Criticism, subtle or overt, of the "native culture" of the child.*

2. *Omission of any reference to the "native culture" in classroom activities.*

3. *Misjudgment and misinterpretation of Hispanic children's behavior (especially in test and classroom performances).*

4. *Lack of status recognition for the bilingual skills of Hispanic students who are fluent in English, as well as Spanish.*

5. *Prejudicial and discriminatory treatment of Spanish-speaking students (based on stereotypes).*

6. *Lower expectation of a Hispanic child's potential.*

7. *Placement of Hispanic children in classes for "slow learners," and referral for Special Education.*

Another unfortunate by-product of the educators' inability to acknowledge the effect of cultural conditioning on themselves, their students, and classroom interaction is that this peculiar "blindness" prevents them from recognizing the need for specific educational intervention on behalf of youngsters who are unable to function adequately in a regular classroom, and yet do not qualify for a Special Education assignment. Thus, teachers who are known to be progressive, skilled, experienced and dedicated in their field of specialization will demonstrate an inexplicable reversal of these qualities when they condemn and even resist the initiation of programs designed to accommodate the specialized educational needs of minority learners in school. They will even provide a host of rational explanations in justification of their stand against such innovations as bilingual/

bicultural education, citing such reasons as the following:

1. *The need for foreign children to learn English, the official language of the country.*

2. *The need to "Americanize" them for their "own good".*

3. *The need to accelerate their assimilation through total immersion in the Anglo-American language and culture.*

4. *The undesirability of undemocratic "special" treatment for any group of children, which would reward, rather than discourage deviant behavior.*

5. *The demonstrated success of monolingual, monocultural education with prior immigrants.*

6. *The indefensibility of siphoning funds for such "educational frills" from other needed programs designed to serve all students.*

What these facts indicate is that minority children--Hispanic youngsters among them--are being asked to function in an academic environment which is not on the whole receptive to (and may even be characterized as hostile to) their educational and psychosocial needs. In consequence of this situation, and even when they are given an opportunity to participate in bilingual/bicultural programs, Spanish-speaking students are exposed to a variety of negative experiences in their daily interactions with the school context which may impair their ability to become full-fledged, members of American society in

later years. Some of the factors which may affect detrimentally (in varying degrees) the performance of Latino students in a scholastic setting were reviewed by Ross (1974) in her study. They included the following:

1. *The degree, intensity and complexity of cultural conflicts affecting the child's state of being physically, emotionally and intellectually.*

2. *The extent of negative perceptions and expectations of Hispanic children on the part of teachers, administrators, school personnel and other students, lacking in cultural understanding.*

3. *The intensity of the child's "negative" image of himself and the school community.*

4. *The socio-economic level achieved by the parents.*

5. *The socio-economic status achieved by the family.*

6. *The relative prominence, in the child, of racial traits deemed undesirable in the majority culture.*

7. *The degree of racial or ethnic imbalance in the school population, and the extent of group segregation.*

8. *The extent of language differences (the child's relative fluency in English).*

9. *The extent of discrimination encountered in the school context.*

10. *The extent of the child's exposure to "American style" experiences in early childhood.*

Because of the emphasis placed by Spanish-speakers on human relationships, a child's success in resolving conflicts encountered in daily classroom situations will depend as much upon the encouragement he receives from each individual teacher as upon that which he derives from his family and from community members. In this respect, Hispanic students suffer from a dual deprivation for, as we have seen earlier, educators have not been overly generous with their understanding and support of non-Anglo learners; and, unfortunately, few Hispanic parents or community members possess the knowledge of mainstream culture needed to guide their children effectively for survival in the educational environment. The measurable outcomes of this tragic situation are recorded in current statistics which indicate considerably higher percentages in dropout rates, delinquency incidences and academic failures for Spanish-surname students than for other youngsters in mainland schools.

Although the educational problems of minority members have received considerable attention in published literature, there has not been any determined effort so far on the part of researchers to ascertain the reasons why the children of Hispanic groups seem to have experienced less success and greater difficulty in adapting to the American school culture than those of other foreign-speaking immigrants. Perhaps the answer to this scholarly neglect lies in the near-impossibility of measuring the course and strength of any reaction (acculturation in this case) when the precise nature of the reagents (Anglo-American and other culture bearers) and of environmental conditions (educational and other) is not known to the investigator.

For an educator who is cognizant of the acculturation difficulties experienced by this particular culture group in the academic context, the absence of specific data on the interaction of educational and cultural factors in Spanish-speaking students is

especially distressing because it leads to the perpetuation of the status quo in schools, where teachers and administrators still attempt to cope with an impossible situation with such measures as irrelevant testing and irrelevant educational prescriptions, all of which result ultimately in miseducation. These deleterious conditions also affect Special Education; they are particularly crucial in this area for, up until now, very little consideration has been given by specialists to the skewing effect of cultural dissonance on the identification and treatment of exceptionalities among Hispanic children. And in direct consequence of this neglect of cultural factors in Special Education procedures, the entire process (selection, labeling, and placement) as well as its outcome (educational prescription for each student) must be considered invalid, since they are based on incomplete (or misinterpreted) data.

In an effort to rectify the problems of misidentification and misplacement of Hispanic Handicapped Children, a new approach in evaluation is now being tried. Criterion-referenced, instead of the more traditional norm-referenced tests are increasingly being used in the hope that they will reflect the testees' backgrounds and potentials more adequately than other devices, since they are designed to evaluate an individual's specific skills without comparing them to those achieved by a group. However, such measures still do not resolve the issue of cultural biases inherent to the very nature of testing procedures, the contents of evaluation instruments and the interpretation of test scores. Unless these skewing factors are eliminated, the assessment of Latino students and the identification of their learning handicaps will continue to be culturally suspect, and any subsequent remediation highly questionable. Some of the steps which may be taken toward the achievement of a cultural systematization of testing have been suggested by Ramirez and Castañeda (1974); they include the

following:

1. *Culture-matching of test items to include the field-dependent approach to problem-solving preferred by Hispanic children, as well as the field-independent style of problem-solving favored by Anglo-American educators, students and achievement tests.*

2. *Culture-matching in test administration to insure optimum testing conditions for Hispanic students whose performance improves with the presence of a warm, supportive examiner.*

3. *Bicultural (bicognitive) preparation of Hispanic youngsters in regular classes prior to evaluation, to equip them with the needed skills.*

4. *Training of school personnel in cross-cultural and bilingual education, with special emphasis on instruction and evaluation.*

The implementation of these culture-fair recommendations should result in a greater accuracy in the identification of exceptionalities among Spanish-speaking students. It will not, however, assist schools in overcoming another cultural problem which stands as a major obstacle to the appropriate placement of pupils in the "least restrictive environment"--the negative reaction of some parents to Special Education. In certain Hispanic circles, any form of "exceptionality" in a child is viewed as a reflection on the honor of the entire family. Accordingly, it is not uncommon for parents to deny the existence of a handicap in their offspring, even when they are confronted with irrefutable evidence; they will reject indignantly any "label" which they see as a stigma of "abnormality," and will resist persistently any attempt to place the child in special classes. In such cases, no amount of logic, reasoning or demonstrated need will

convince a Hispanic mother or father whose family reputation is at stake that the school and its Child Study Team are not discriminating against them or their child. And, given the dismal track record of those institutions with respect to the misassignment of Spanish speakers to Mentally Retarded, Communication Handicapped or Socially Maladjusted classes, strong parental objections to exceptional labeling is not only to be expected but also to be hoped for, and recommended as a means of counteracting the ethnocentric tendencies of school personnel and their educational consequences for Hispanic learners.

Once the process of exceptional identification has been adapted to culturally different conditions, some way will have to be found to meet the handicapped child's needs without giving offense to his parents and exposing the family to a loss of face in the community. Research is, therefore, needed to determine the culturally accepted ways in which exceptionalities are handled by educational institutions in various Spanish-speaking countries.

THE IMPLICATIONS OF CULTURAL FACTORS IN AMERICAN EDUCATION

The evidence of research findings, statistical surveys and day to day school experiences relative to Spanish-speaking groups point to several inescapable conclusions:

1. That Hispanic children find it difficult to function in the Anglocentric academic environment.

2. That school personnel (not trained in cultural understanding) is unable to facilitate these children's adaptation to standards of behavior prevalent in the American educational context.

3. *That every aspect of life in scholastic institutions--staff, methodology, curricula, materials, tests, policies and even language --creates conflict opportunities for students who are linguistically and culturally different.*

4. *That the forced accommodation of Hispanic children to culturally irrelevant aspects of school life often results in psychological or social maladjustment problems which cannot be handled competently in "regular" Special Education classes designed to remedy these problems in Anglo-American students.*

5. *That the learning potential of Hispanic children is neither being measured accurately, nor being stimulated appropriately by existing programs to maximize academic achievement.*

6. *That the combined effect of culturally irrelevant testing and culturally ignorant teacher judgements leads to referral and to*

   a. *The frequent misplacement of "normal" Hispanic children in special classes, or*

   b. *The frequent misclassification of exceptionalities among Hispanic children.*

In a country, such as the United States, which is ethnically and linguistically pluralistic in its population, egalitarian and democratic in its philosophy of education, as well as activistic and missionary in its cultural orientation, the dearth of action on behalf of miseducated Spanish-speakers (who may or may not be exceptional) is a shocking indictment of an educational system explicitly dedicated to equal opportunity of learning. Yet, it would be difficult to ascribe responsibility for such a state of affairs to any single group of individuals.

Certainly, public school educators have not developed the professional skills needed to deal with culturally different learners, but is it not because university professors have also failed to train them in this area? And if school evaluation programs shamefully discriminate against their non-Anglo student population, is it not also because test publishers have been reluctant to underwrite, and evaluation specialists to undertake, the monumental task of revolutionizing culturally the preparation of standardized measurement devices? As for Special Education specialists, whose field of expertise addresses one of the most sensitive human problems encountered in educational institutions, surely the task now assigned to them must be labeled "mission impossible" since it must be carried out literally in a cultural vacuum created by the absence of references on the culturally different manifestations of exceptionalities!

Obviously, such a situation is intolerable for everyone concerned--first, the children, their parents, and their teachers and, by extension, all responsible educators and community members. It is, therefore, imperative that steps be taken to solve the difficulties created by cultural conflicts in educational institutions. Some of the immediate measures which might be implemented easily in schools at the present time without requiring major expenditures in time and personnel efforts, are as follows:

1. A reorientation of curriculum contents (K-12) toward the achievement of pluralism and cultural understanding.

2. A systematic training program of in-service training for all personnel in skills of cultural understanding and crosscultural communication.

3. A progressive expansion of community input (Hispanic parents and organizations).

4. An adult education program for Hispanic parents including orientation in the areas of bicultural education school program, parental participation in school policies, and community action.

5. A bilingual-bicultural learning sequence which parallels the regular K-12 instructional program.

6. A systematic experimentation with different bilingual tests to identify those which least discriminate against either Hispanic or Anglo-American students.

7. A special orientation program on Hispanic culture for staff responsible for Special Education.

8. A special orientation program on Special Education and exceptionalities for Hispanic parents of exceptional children.

9. An intensive library search for published information on the learning problems of Spanish speakers, on manifestations of exceptionalities among Hispanic children, and on testing biases.

10. A systematic and periodic review of Hispanic children assigned to special classes.

11. A systematic collection and analysis of anecdotal data on Hispanic "problem" children.

12. A systematic dissemination of information on school programs and activities throughout the community.

On a long-term basis, consideration should be given by school administrators to offer to their staff

an opportunity to gain the professional skills needed to work effectively with Spanish-speaking children. Ideally, this in-service training program would include ethnic studies information on the History and Cultural Heritage of Hispanic communities. More important still, it would provide teachers with a theoretical knowledge and practical experience of human relations in cultural context applicable to daily classroom interaction. The objectives of such a program would be for the trainees to:

1. Acquire a knowledge of culture, its nature, its effect on human behavior and education and its influence on crosscultural interaction.

2. Develop an awareness, respect, and appreciation of cultural diversity.

3. Perceive and understand their own cultural identity and biases with greater objectivity and acceptance.

4. If bilingual, become bicultural as well--that is to say: be able to function equally well in both cultural environments.

5. Be able to identify the practical range of "average" American (majority) cultural patterns, and to recognize potential areas of conflict with Hispanic culture.

6. Recognize signals of cultural interference in crosscultural interaction.

7. Understand the verbal and nonverbal components of communication and their respective roles in classroom interaction.

8. Be familiar with the many ways in which culture is expressed by and reflected in linguistic, cognitive, attitudinal and

behavioral patterns.

9. understand the different assumptions and role expectations of different cultural communities and their effect on cross-cultural communication.

10. Recognize the nature of ethnocentrism, stereotype, prejudice, and discrimination, and their effect on education and on the lives of minority individuals.

11. Suspend judgment when faced with an unfamiliar behavior or seemingly "familiar" behavior in an alien situation, until all the necessary cultural information has been collected and reviewed.

12. Be able to distinguish between an atypical behavior which is culture-related and one which is caused by a physical or psychological handicap.

In the application of culturally relevant strategies to the context of classroom instruction, Castaneda (1975) has suggested the following guidelines for the implementation of a positive interaction between Anglo-American educators and their Spanish-speaking students (p. 30-32):

1. PERSONALIZE CLASSROOM INTERACTION

Examples: a. Reward each child in personal terms such as:

"I am proud of you," instead of the more impersonal comment:

"that was very good."

b. Compliment children on their personal appearance.

c. Show a personal interest in what each child enjoys particularly--favorite colors or food; a preferred game; a visit he looks forward to, or any other activity.

2. HUMANIZE THE CURRICULUM

(Especially needed in "scientific" subjects, such as science and mathematics).

Examples: a. Use puppets and felt figures to associate instructional concepts with human activities.

b. Use simulations to involve children intimately in the act of learning.

c. Prepare worksheets depicting people, animals, and faces to illustrate instructional contents.

d. Encourage children to sympathize or empathize with each other and with characters in stories, as a means of reinforcing learning.

3. ENCOURAGE SELECTIVE COOPERATIVE GROUP WORK

Examples: a. Reward instances of helpfulness and consideration toward other students and adults.

b. Assign tasks to small groups of students who enjoy working together (completing worksheets, measuring, playing games, delivering messages, and the like).

c. Direct children to turn for help to their classmates.

4. MAXIMIZE ADULT-CHILD CLASSROOM CONTACTS

Examples: a. Organize learning centers for children to work in on their own. Move from one child to the next.

b. Arrange classroom furniture to increase human contact. (kidney-shaped tables, for instance).

5. DE-EMPHASIZE PRAGMATIC TASK-ORIENTATION

Examples: a. Motivate the child in terms of himself, rather than the task to be achieved.

b. Assist the child to strive toward the instructional goals by means of meaningful looks, smiles, and encouraging "touch" gestures.

6. IMPLEMENT CROSS-AGE "TUTORING"

Examples: a. Have older children invite your pupils to their classes.

b. Have your pupils invite older students to assist them in class activities.

c. *Arrange for peer tutoring as needed*

7. USE SPANISH AS MUCH AS ENGLISH*

Examples:

a. *Use Spanish materials for both Spanish and English-speaking children.*

b. *Teach Spanish songs and rhymes.*

c. *Address children in typical Hispanic manner ("hijo, niña"),*

d. *Use Spanish diminutives.*

e. *Review in Spanish, concepts which have already been learned in English; or introduce these concepts first in Spanish, then review them in English.*

8. FEATURE THE HISTORICAL AND CULTURAL HERITAGES OF THE CHILDREN

Examples:

a. *Display Spanish magazines, books, comics, newspapers, realia.*

b. *Highlight Hispanic celebrations.*

c. *Implement Cultural activities in the classroom.*

d. *Add Spanish heritage data to the curriculum.*

*Castañeda recommends that teachers "use Spanish as much as possible." However, it is not recommended by the present writers that Spanish be utilized more than 50% of the class time, since children need English practice to survive in school.

9. INVOLVE PARENTS IN THE CLASSROOM

Examples: a. *Welcome parents informally into the classroom.*

b. *Involve them in class activities.*

c. *Send children's papers home, reminding them of how pleased their mothers will be to see their work.*

d. *Make every effort to meet the children's families.*

The basic orientation in the cultural context of human relations outlined earlier, and its recommended implementation in classroom interaction (Castañeda, 1975) do constitute professional knowledge and skills which are indispensable to Special Educators who intend to work with handicapped Spanish-speaking children. Nevertheless, such minimal "cultural" preparation cannot by any means be considered adequate to enable such educators to achieve maximum effectiveness in the implementation of individual programs prescribed for exceptional Hispanic learners. Additional competencies are needed by them in order to accomplish this goal; they may be summarized as follows:

1. *Bilingual/Bicultural functional proficiency.*

2. *Knowledge of the nature, goals, and techniques of Bilingual/Bicultural Education.*

3. *Knowledge of the characteristics of Hispanic exceptional children.*

4. *Familiarity with bilingual testing and with the cultural biases inherent to all tests.*

5. *Familiarity with the curricula and instruc-*

tional materials available for the education of Hispanic exceptional children.

6. *Practical experience with the strategies and techniques of Special Education as applied to Spanish-speaking learners.*

Special educators who develop these capabilities will serve the schools as highly trained specialists who will assume the task of preparing viable programs for the identification and treatment of exceptionalities among Hispanic children. Their responsibilities will include the selection of culturally relevant identification procedures, the redefinition of bilingual/bicultural educational goals and the reorientation of instructional strategies in Special Education to meet the differentiated needs of Spanish-speaking youngsters.

An appropriate point of departure for this endeavor will be the initiation of culture-matching procedures in educational policy-making at the public school level, through the immediate involvement of Hispanic parents and community resources in all phases of program development. The purposes of such outreach measures will be to acquaint community members with, and thereby dispel their fears of, Special Education laws and functions, to insure their enlightened cooperation with the school's remediation plans, and to utilize their cultural expertise to "de-Anglocentrize" all aspects of the referral, classification and instructional processes for Hispanic exceptional children.

At the same time, schools should secure the input of university specialists experienced in multicultural (or crosscultural) education, bilingual education, Special Education testing, and Hispanic community relations in order to assist them in the development of these culturally differentiated programs and in the evaluation of these implemented activities. Hopefully, these university experts would then be able

to utilize their on-site experiences to stimulate a parallel restructuring of existing courses of study in Exceptional Teacher preparation at their respective institutions, and to redirect test construction and interpretation toward needed standards of fairness in both cultural and linguistic contents.

PRESCRIPTIONS FOR TEACHING SPANISH-SPEAKING CHILDREN WITH SPECIFIC HANDICAPS

With respect to handicapped children who are culturally and/or linguistically different, four categories of exceptionalities are likely to present particular problems to public school educators, both in the identification of the actual handicap, and in the prescription of an individual plan of instruction designed to compensate this handicap. They are:

Emotionally Disturbed and Socially Maladjusted Children

Mentally Retarded Children

Learning Disabled Children

Speech and Communication Handicapped Children

These particular exceptionalities are reviewed briefly in this section for the purpose of providing educators with a summary of current definitions, general symptoms and teacher roles appropriate to each classification.

Emotionally Disturbed and Socially Maladjusted Children

DEFINITIONS

Hewett (1974) reviewed and categorized the existing definitions of social and emotional maladjustments according to the theoretical orientation of the

labelers. According to him, these orientations are:

> "Psychiatric approach: primary behavior disorders, psychosomatic disorders, and psychoses (Watson, 1959)
>
> Psychodynamic approach: impairment of emotional growth during some state of development and resultant distrust toward self and others and hostility generated from anxiety (Moustakas, 1953, 1955)
>
> Psycho-social and psycho-educational approach: socially defective children, children with neurotic conflicts, and children with psychotic processes (Morse, 1967)
>
> Neurological approach; brain damage behavior syndrome, hyperkinetic-impulse disorder, Strauss syndrome, and postencephalitic behavior syndrome (Clements and Peters, 1962)
>
> Legal approach: behavior that violates specific legal norms with such seriousness or frequency that it constitutes arrest or court action and results in the label 'juvenile delinquent' (Kvaraceus and Miller, 1959)
>
> Ecological approach: what is considered deviant, how it is designated, interpreted, and treated is viewed as much a function of the perceiver as of the behavior (Rhodes, 1967)
>
> Behavioral-educational approaches: disorders that consist of inadequate or inappropriate behavior that is learned and can

therefore be changed through application of learning procedures (Dupont, 1969)

The child who cannot or will not adjust to the socially acceptable norms for behavior and consequently disrupts his own academic progress, the learning efforts of his classmates, and interpersonal relations (Woody, 1969)

A socialization failure whose behavior is maladaptive and deviates from what is expected for his age, sex, and social status (Hewett, 1968)"

(from Frank M. Hewett and Steven R. Forness, EDUCATION OF EXCEPTIONAL LEARNERS. p. 59. Copyright 1974 by Allyn and Bacon, Inc., Boston, Mass..Reprinted with permission).

SYMPTOMS

a. *The child appears to be under constant stress.*

b. *He loses the ability to organize and to attend to the task at hand.*

c. *His academic achievement suffers.*

d. *He is self-centered, suffers from impaired social relationships, and exhibits self-punitive behaviors.*

e. *He displays cyclical and self-reinforcement behaviors.*

f. *He suffers from behavioral disorders: defiance, impertinence, uncooperativeness, irritability, and excitability.*

g. *He shows signs of inadequacy and immaturity: laziness, lack of interest, sluggishness, inattention,*

preoccupation, school aversion.

h. He has personality problems: feelings of inferiority or self-consciousness, lack of self-confidence, fearfulness or depression.

ROLE OF THE CLASSROOM TEACHER

In implementing the following suggestions with Hispanic exceptional students, teachers should keep in mind the specific recommendations made by Ramirez (1974) on the personalistic style of interaction preferred by Spanish-speaking children. Within this positive relational framework, teachers should:

a. Provide a structured, but personalized learning environment in which warm praise and reinforcement are given for appropriate behavior and acceptable academic endeavors.

b. Require the student to attempt new learning, and reinforce these attempts appropriately.

c. Avoid overprotecting the student, but keep in mind his need for dependency and respond to it while setting firm limitations for his behavior. Make sure the child understands these limitations, as well as the consequences of any unacceptable behavior.

d. Offer the student experiences where he can make small decisions which are not threatening to him, and mistakes which entail no penalties.

e. Accept his episodes of emotional behavior

and provide reassurance as needed.

f. Make sure the student knows he is respected as a person and accepted for himself, yet make it clear to him that certain behaviors are unacceptable.

g. Model majority values and behaviors in society. Attempt to demonstrate those behaviors which are acceptable for the student to use with peer groups and adults of both Hispanic and Anglo communities.

h. Consult the psychologist to identify the child's learning strengths and weaknesses. Build on the positive aspects of the child's abilities in order to help him develop his weaker areas.

i. Consult the Learning Disability Consultant to select bilingual materials, instructional techniques, and curriculum inclusions with which to assist the child in overcoming his learning problems.

j. Enlist the parents' support and participation in the design of school-home cooperative activities to facilitate the child's adaptation to the academic environment.

Slower Learning Children (Mentally Retarded)

DEFINITION

Since 1973, mental retardation has been referred to by the American Association of Mental Deficiency as

"...significantly subaverage general intellectual functioning existing concurrently with deficits in adaptive behavior, and manifested during the developmental period." (Grossman, 1973, pp. 5 and 11)

This new definition reflected a major revision in the AAMD classification system which sought to improve the identification of retardation in linguistically and culturally different children. One significant change was initiated at that time: the upper limit of the retardation range was extended from one to two standard deviations below the mean in IQ test scores. Henceforth, any child testing within the new deviation range would be considered a borderline case, and would no longer be classified as retarded.

In the AAMD system, classification is based on the results of standardized IQ tests and is organized into four categories, or levels of retardation, which correspond to specific IQ ranges in each test and to specific educational designations, as may be noted in the following examples:

Level of Retardation	IQ Ranges (Stanford-Binet Cattell Tests)	(Wechsler Scales)	Educational Label
MILD	67 - 52	69 - 55	Educable
MODERATE	51 - 36	54 - 40	Trainable
SEVERE	35 - 20	39 - 25	Dependent Retarded
PROFOUND	19 and below	24 and below	Life Support Level

The classification of mental retardation holds a

particular significance for Hispanic children for two specific reasons: first because, in many cases, their inability to express themselves in English leads teachers to suspect an intellectual limitation; and second, because their IQ rating may classify them as retardates, despite the apparent fact that it is based on scores obtained on culturally and linguistically biased tests. As in the case of emotional and social exceptionalities, the observable classroom behaviors resulting from a child's linguistic inadequacies may be confused all too easily with signs of mental retardation.

SYMPTOMS

a. *The child requires a larger number of trials in order to gain some information and retain it.*

b. *He frequently lacks motivation, because he has met so many failures.*

c. *He frequently underestimates his own potential.*

d. *He has difficulty in grouping materials into categories to facilitate learning.*

e. *His behavior is often socially inept and naive; he is unaware of appropriate behaviors for specific occasions.*

f. *He generally tends to show fewer "acting out" behaviors than many other exceptional children.*

g. *He may not have been identified as "retarded" until he proved to be unable to cope with the demands of the school environment.*

ROLE OF THE CLASSROOM TEACHER

Keeping in mind Castañeda's (1975) prescription for culturally relevant instruction in classes of Spanish-speaking children, the teacher should:

a. *Sequence tasks in increasing difficulty according to the child's range of capability.*

b. *Insure the child's learning by proper planning of a bilingual curriculum.*

c. *Meet his greater need for many trials and repetitions to achieve learning.*

d. *Gear classroom activities to his slower learning rate, especially when introducing a new concept.*

e. *Provide frequent repetitions of practice and recall exercises.*

f. *Use mnemonic devices to facilitate association and memorizing in setting small group tasks for the students.*

g. *Individualize the bilingual curriculum contents.*

h. *Include the student in class activities; make him feel a part of the classroom society.*

i. *Present materials to him in as concrete a manner as possible.*

j. *Use personal praise and reinforcement frequently but judiciously, making sure that it is merited.*

k. Demonstrate the task clearly and assist the student in performing it, but make certain that he goes thr. .gh each step of the learning process. Resist the urge to do it for him.

l. Involve him in various socialization experiences and include him into all learning activities, keeping his participation within the limits of his capabilities.

m. Be aware of the student's apprehension in trying new tasks, which he signals through his lack of attention, distractibility, or delays; introduce him to the task gradually and with encouragement.

n. Watch for excess of failure (which can be discouraging); provide many opportunities for success no matter how small it may be.

o. Find the child's areas of special interest and use them as a vehicle for learning.

p. Consult the School Psychologist and Learning Disability Consultant for further assistance.

q. Work closely with the parents to design reinforcement activities for home use.

r. Secure volunteer community support to maximize individual attention for the child.

DEFINITION

Kirk and Bateman (1962) defined learning disabilities as:

> "...a retardation, disorder, or delayed development in one or more of the processes of speech, language, reading, writing, arithmetic, or other school subjects resulting from a psychological handicap caused by a possible cerebral dysfunction and/or emotional or behavioral disturbances. It is not the result of mental retardation, sensory deprivation, or cultural or instructional factors." (p.72)

Later on, the National Advisory Committee on Handicapped Children proposed another definition (1968):

> "Children with special (specific) learning disabilities exhibit a disorder in one or more of the basic psychological processes involved in understanding or in using spoken or written language. These may be manifested in disorders of listening, thinking, talking, reading, writing, spelling or arithmetic. They include conditions which have been referred to as perceptual handicaps, brain injury, minimal brain dysfunction, dyslexia, developmental aphasia, etc. They do not include learning problems which are due primarily to visual, hearing, or motor handicaps, to mental retardation, emotional disturbance, or to environmental disadvantage." (p.73)

According to Gruenberg (1964) learning disabled children may be classified into three categories: those with neurological impairment, those with purely functional impairment, and those with suspected but unconfirmed neurological impairment.

SYMPTOMS

a. *The child shows ample evidence of normal ability in several areas of intellectual functioning, but has some disability in one or more other areas.*

b. *Despite normal sensory acuity, the child may experience a variety of difficulties:*

   (1) *He may be unable to discriminate between different shapes, sizes, sounds, pitches, movement of patterns, etc.*

   (2) *He may have problems in learning through one sensory system, and none in using the others. For example, he may have visual, but not auditory problems, or vice-versa.*

   (3) *He may exhibit hyperactive behavior, as a result of his learning disabilities, or of the emotional strain he is under when he tries to learn.*

ROLE OF THE CLASSROOM TEACHER

Within the framework of Ramirez and Castañada's (1974) recommendations for culture-matching teaching-learning styles, the teacher should:

a. *Teach the child through his best learning modality--visual or auditory but within a field-sensitive, rather than a field-independent approach to subject matter.*

b. *Accommodate to his sensory deprivation by using multiple stimuli (for example, present the data orally but use visual aids and write words and ideas on the board as well).*

c. *Give ample time for the child to learn new material (sensory association learning modes may be less efficient than in a normal child).*

d. *Provide ample time for the student to respond to questions. The task of searching one's memory for, and recalling the information, is often more difficult for an individual whose association mechanism is impaired than for one who possesses normal skills.*

e. *Simplify the learning process by offering to the child suggestions on how the material can best be learned, giving cues, and asking leading questions to him.*

f. *If his attention span is limited, structure learning around topics of major interest to him. Provide a structured learning environment.*

g. Use color or other concrete signals to highlight stimuli.

h. Organize complex learning tasks into manageable steps or single units, sequenced in logical order.

i. Observe the child's behavior and report the effects of medication if it produces too much stimulation or too much sedation.

Speech and Communication Handicapped Children

DEFINITION

According to Van Riper (1972):

> "speech is defective when it deviates so far from the speech of other people that it calls attention to itself, interferes with communication, or causes its possessor to be maladjusted." (p. 29)

The communication handicapped child is one who has difficulty either in decoding linguistic messages, or in expressing thoughts verbally. Both of these categories are particularly meaningful for the Spanish-speaking exceptional child, since he may confuse the language patterns he has learned at home with those he has acquired in school, to the point of being unable to communicate effectively in either language. Nevertheless, it is of paramount importance that the exceptional child's communication handicap be determined in the native or dominant language, and that the evaluation be carried out by native speakers of that language.

SYMPTOMS

a. The child appears to be confused and frequently refuses to answer questions.

b. He consistently produces articulation errors (this is particularly common among Spanish-speaking children.)

c. Frequently the errors made in one language are repeated in the other language.

d. The Hispanic child does not have expressive language in either English or Spanish.

e. The Hispanic child is unable to follow directions given to him in either language. His listening comprehension is impaired.

f. The Hispanic child may manifest disruptive behavior in the classroom because he is unable to understand the expectations of the classroom teacher.

ROLE OF THE CLASSROOM TEACHER

In dealing with this exceptionality, the teacher's responsibility is a particularly difficult one, since the child's problems are increased by the necessity of his learning how to communicate in two languages. Under the circumstances, it is strongly recommended that the child be taught only in his native language until the extent of his communication handi-

cap has been ascertained, and a carefully articulated plan of action been developed with appropriate consultant input.

In the event that the child is able to learn English-as-a-Second Language, the teacher should, in addition to selecting an instructional approach commensurate with the field-dependent mode of learning (Castañeda, 1975) seek to:

a. *Obtain professional assistance in determining whether the child's communication handicap is organic in nature or linguistically controlled.*

b. *Utilize English-as-a-Second Language, as well as speech corrective techniques of instruction.*

c. *Develop practice exercises around noted points of linguistic interference in the child's speech.*

d. *Provide a clear model of Standard English pronunciation for the student (the phoneme-grapheme correspondence for such linguistic items as "i," "th," and "y" in initial position is especially difficult for Spanish speakers).*

e. *Stress appropriate communication, relating the melody of connected speed with syntactic structure and semantic content.*

f. *Enlist the parents' help, keeping in mind, however, that they may feel culturally obligated to conceal their child's disability to protect the family "honor".*

g. *Pair the child with another Hispanic child of the same sex and age who is fluent in English, for the express purpose of providing him with a non-adult language model.*

h. *Provide him with a peer tutor (also Hispanic and of the same sex, but older) who will help him practice English communication in different subject matters.*

For any normal child whose native language is other than English, communication within the school context represents a radical change in verbal and non-verbal experiences, as well as a major obstacle to learning. Indeed, the acquisition of second language skills (which also happen to be used as the media of classroom instruction) is not the simple task so many monolingual educators believe it to be, but a deeply traumatic event for the learner which involves far more than mastery of new linguistic habits. As any foreign language expert knows, fluency in any tongue other than one's own is not solely a matter of accuracy in pronunciation, vocabulary, or grammar; it is also a question of transformation in cultural personality, requiring a total shift in behavioral mobilization on the part of the learner from an unconscious (native idiom) to a conscious (second idiom) level. It is, therefore, a credit to the resilience and perseverance of Hispanic children that so many of them do succeed in gaining an acceptable command of the English language in school under existing conditions of instruction.

For those students who suffer from speech or communication handicaps in their own native language, the mandate of conquering these difficulties in addition to learning a foreign idiom may be so overwhelming that it may lead to other disorders or simply result in a cessation of learning. Under the circumstances, the remediation of linguistically related exceptionalities is a complex matter not to be undertaken lightly,

nor is it one to be left in the hands of any single specialist. For maximum effectiveness, any data (formal and informal in both languages) collected on a Spanish-speaking child suspected of a communication handicap should ideally be carefully reviewed by a team consisting of a Bilingual Teacher (with equal fluency in both idioms), a Bilingual Speech Therapist, a Community Specialist and a Learning Disability Consultant; their combined expertises will insure a proper identification of the child's problem as well as the formulation of a corrective plan of action suited to his special needs. If possible, this team approach should be continued throughout the course of the remediation program in order to guarantee the integration of its linguistic, cultural, therapeutic and educational aspects, and to minimize the possibility of diagnostic or prescriptive errors.

CONCLUSIONS

Despite the long-standing American experience with a multiethnic population, schools have not risen to the challenge of reducing the cultural chasm which separates minority groups (Hispanic communities, for instance) from the dominant society. Yet, this phenomenon of cultural discontinuity has been identified by many scholars as a significant factor of learning interference in the education of non-majority children, particularly at the early childhood and primary levels, where the greatest leap in cognitive, affective, and psychomotor developments tends to occur. Fields of conflict between school and community cultures have been readily noted in four major areas by specialists in the cultural context of human relations: organization, personnel, philosophy, and curriculum. Noted specific points of interference in these categories are as follows:

1. *School Organization:*

   a. *Rigid pupil placement, pro-*

gramming and scheduling.

b. Impersonal reporting system (in English)

c. Distant community relations.

d. Labeling system of "Special Classes".

2. School Personnel:

a. Middle-class, Anglocentric teachers.

b. Inadequate interpersonal communication (task orientation).

c. Inadequate professional preparation in crosscultural education.

d. Low expectations of minority learners.

3. School Philosophy:

a. Prescriptive subject matter approach.

b. Policy of *de facto* Americanization.

c. Egalitarian ideal not implemented in classroooms.

d. Deficit Model of education for minority students.

4. School Curriculum:

a. Anglocentric curriculum.

b. *Unrealistic subject matter content aimed at the "average American" learner.*

c. *Remedial approach and materials for atypical students.*

d. *Undifferentiated method of evaluation (culturally and linguistically biased tests).*

On the whole, schools in the United States have tended to ignore cultural differences among their students, expecting them to become "Americanized" through their daily interaction with the academic environment. The error of such policies has been demonstrated in the accumulated learning deficits and cultural anomie suffered by millions of American citizens born outside of the majority culture. Nowhere has the problem been more noticeable than in the educational failure and social isolation of the second largest minority group in this country--the Hispanic group. Nor is this more likely to become less salient in the future, since Spanish speakers constitute the fastest growing community in the United States, having risen from some three million in 1960 to nine in 1970, and now twelve in 1978 (not counting an estimated 7.4 million population of existing undocumented Hispanic aliens), and with a staggering immigration rate of one million per year (Time Magazine, 1978).

Moreover, the dual nature of nonconformism in Latino students--cultural, as well as linguistic--has made them automatically the likely targets of miseval-uation in school, resulting inevitably in miseducation. Too many of these children (with normal learning potential) have been victimized by inappropriate measuring instruments and irrelevant instruction which have earned them the gratuitous labels of "slow learners," "non-readers," "emotionally unstable," or "mentally retarded," together with a corresponding assignment to Special Education classes. And, too many others, (with

exceptionalities) have been deprived of the specialized instruction to which they are entitled, because those same tests and instructional strategies have failed to uncover their particular handicap. Such a situation can no longer be tolerated.

Any plan of action directed to the education of culturally and linguistically different learners should include five major objectives:

1. *To provide these children with academic training equal to that offered to native-born youngsters of the same age.*

2. *To teach them how to communicate effectively in standard English, while maintaining and developing their own native language skills.*

3. *To facilitate their adjustment to the norms and standards of the majority culture as an alternate way of functioning in society (but not as a replacement for their native lifestyle).*

4. *To evaluate their learning potential and special problems accurately in a culturally relevant manner.*

5. *To prescribe educational learning sequences which are culturally and linguistically appropriate to the diagnosed needs of each student, whether he is exceptional or not.*

The implementation of these goals will be considerably facilitated if educators keep in mind several basic factors:

1. *That similar ranges of individual differences and problems exist in*

any group of children, regardless of their ethnic affiliation. Hence, any group generalization formulated about Hispanic pupils must be adjusted to individual situations.

2. That a child's cognitive growth follows a certain sequence (Smock, 1970). However, that ethnic origin, while it does not affect the order of skills development, may affect differentially the duration of any developmental stage and, hence, require a reorganization of learning activities.

3. That all children need to acquire the skills, knowledges, and attitudes prevailing in the society at large, but not at the expense of those learned in their native environment. The educational program should, therefore, be one of enrichment and not compensation.

4. That the special needs of limited English speakers are both linguistic and cultural in nature. They will give rise to conflicts in the academic context which must be resolved by the teachers, and not by the students.

5. That linguistically and culturally different children are normally neither "disadvantaged" nor "deficient" mentally, socially, or psychologically. They are, however, subject to the same kinds and degrees of exceptionalities that may afflict Anglo-American youngsters, although these exceptionalities may be manifested in atypical ways.

6. That not all teachers are emotionally and/or professionally qualified to handle

non-Anglo students. And, not all Special Education teachers are emotionally and/or professionally capable of instructing Hispanic exceptional learners.

7. *That no educational program designed for linguistically and culturally different children can ever be successful without the wholehearted support and understanding of the parents. Their cooperation is indispensable to the day-to-day resolution of conflicts which arise unavoidably between the home and school cultures in such circumstances.*

In one respect, the education of Spanish (and other foreign) speakers differs considerably from that of Anglo-American children--in the constant presence of tensions arising from cultural conflicts which do not occur with boys and girls of the majority culture. The adverse effects of such stresses on teacher-pupil interaction and on learning development may be noted in various areas. For example: the school's policy of de facto, Anglo-Americanization will undermine the Latino students' confidence and pride in their own cultural heritage; teachers, unaware of crosscultural interference in classroom communication may unwittingly arouse the learners' antagonism or stifle their motivation, while acting with the best of intentions; and a "special" label unduly attached to a Hispanic child will contribute to the destruction of his self-concept.

From an overall standpoint, the implications of cultural dissonance, as it now exists in the American school system, are clear: as long as these conditions continue to prevail in these "Anglocentric" educational institutions, there can be no guarantee of equal learning opportunity for youngsters who are not members of the dominant culture. And, for those less

privileged Hispanic children who must struggle under the triple handicaps of exceptionality, cultural divergence, and linguistic difference, there is even a lesser chance of their ever achieving their learning potential, as long as we continue to deny them access to the special instruction to which they are legally and morally entitled in a democratic society.

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APPENDICES

Appendix A:

State Definitions of Exceptional Children

Appendix B:

Characteristics of Field Dependent and Field Independent Cognitive Styles

Appendix C:

Field Sensitive and Field Independent Teaching

Appendix D:

Evaluation and Placement Chart
Due Process of Law Forms

Appendix E:

Tests for Spanish-Speaking Children
Publishers' Addresses

APPENDIX A

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Appendix A

N.J. State Definition of Exceptional Children

According to the New Jersey Administrative Code, Title 18A, Chapter 46, Article 1. - Definitions:

"As used in this chapter a handicapped child shall mean and include any child who is mentally retarded, visually handicapped, auditorily handicapped, communication handicapped, neurologically or perceptually impaired, orthopedically handicapped, chronically ill, emotionally disturbed, socially maladjusted or multiply handicapped."

In a recent revision (6: 28 - 1.2), the following definitions have been given:

"Educationally handicapping conditions means one which impairs the pupil physically, emotionally, intellectually, or socially to such an extend that without a special education and related services the pupil would not be expected to function in a manner similar to a pupil not so impaired. These conditions shall include:

1. "Auditorily handicapped means an inability to hear within normal limits due to physical impairment or dysfunction of auditory mechanisms as distinguished by the following:

   a. "Deaf means residual hearing which is not sufficient to enable an understanding of speech and successful language development, even with a hearing aid, and necessitates specialized instruction for a pupil who is unable to interpret speech sounds as a result of an approximate 70 or more average decibel (ISO) loss in hearing in the better ear as measured with a calibrated audiometer by a person legally qualified to determine hearing disability.

b. "Hard of hearing means a hearing loss with or without a hearing aid, which results in an inability to make full use of regular school experiences without special education or related service due to a 30 or more decibel (ISO) loss in hearing in either ear.

2. "Chronically ill means a temporary or permanent health condition which makes it impracticable to receive adequate instruction through a regular school program.

3. "Communication handicapped means the inability to communicate verbally in one's native language to the extent that special education and related services are needed to correct or ameliorate the condition as distinguished by the following:

   a. "Communication handicapped - Severe - means severely impaired native speech and/or language. This impairment is characterized by such disorders as stuttering, voice disorders, language impairment and/or articulation disorders which interfere with the ability to communicate, adversely affect educational performance and are not due primarily to hearing impairment as defined under auditorily handicapped.

   b. "Communication handicapped - Simple speech articulation - means an impairment characterized by the presence of defective and incorrect sounds, which include substitutions, omissions, additions and distortions of the speech sounds and is not due primarily to hearing impairment as defined under auditorily handicapped.

4. "Emotionally disturbed means behavior which is characterized by a pattern of functioning which is so inappropriate as to call attention to itself and which severely limits the individual from profiting from regualr classroom learning experiences or severely hinders other pupils

in the class from profiting from regular classroom experiences. Moreover, emotional disturbance is characterized by a pattern of expression of emotion inappropriate to the situation in a manner of degree and quality.

5. "Socially maladjusted means a pattern of social interaction which is characterized by conflicts which cannot be resolved adequately without the assistance of authority figures, or behavior that seriously interferes with the well being or the property of others and is not due to emotional disturbance as defined in these regulations.

6. "Orthopedically handicapped means a condition which, because of malformation, malfunction or loss of bones, muscle, or body tissue, necessitates special education or related services, special equipment, or special facilities to permit functioning of normal learning processes.

7. "Mentally retarded means possessing an intellectual capacity below the normal range of intelligence as distinguished by the following:

   a. "Educable means a level of retardation which is characterized by intellectual capacity, as measured by a clinical test of intelligence, within a range encompassing approximately one and one half to three standard deviations below the mean; evidence of limitation to a very low level of ability to think abstractly and, from data derived from an adaptive behavior scale, of an ability to socially function that is significantly below that displayed by a pupil in the normal range of intelligence.

   b. "Trainable means a level of retardation which is characterized by intellectual capacity, as measured by a standardized clinical test of intelligence, which falls beyond three standard deviations below the mean; an inability to use symbols in the solution of problems of

even low complexity; and an inability to function well socially without direct and close supervision.

c. "Eligible for day training means a level of retardation characterized by an inability to give evidence to a basic child study team of understanding and responding in a positive manner to simple directions expressed in the mode of primary communication and to express basic wants or needs due to mental retardation.

8. "Neurologically or perceptually impaired means impairment in the ability to process information due to physiological, organizational or integrational internal dysfunction which is not the result of any other handicapping condition as defined in these regulations. The condition is distinguished by the following:

a. "Neurologically impaired means a severe inability to use basic physiological, organizational or integrational processes necessary for learning due to internal neurological dysfunction.

b. "Perceptually impaired means the exhibiting of a learning disability due to internal perceptual dysfunction which affects the ability to listen, think, speak, read, write, spell and study arithmetic to the extent that special education and related services are necessary for achievement and successful performance in an educational program.

9. "Visually handicapped means in inability to use oscular mechanisms to see within normal limits as defined by the following:

a. "Blind means a condition in which visual acuity, with correction, is 20/200 or poorer in the better eye and which necessitates a knowledge and skill in the use of Braille for educational purposes.

b. "Partially sighted means a condition in which

visual acuity, with correction, is 20/70 or poorer; or, as a result of some other factors involved in visual functioning, inhibits the effective funcitoning in a learning environment without special education or related services.

10. "Multiply handicapped means the presence of two or more educationally handicapping conditions which interact and result in problems so complex that placement in programs designed for a single handicapping condition will not result in significantly meaningful educational growth and achievement. All such educational handicaps shall be indicated for classification of the pupil. The presence of simple speech articulation handicaps as a secondary condition shall not be considered under this condition.

APPENDIX B

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Appendix B

Characteristics of Field Dependent and Field Independent Cognitive Styles

I. Field Dependent Characteristics

A child who possesses a field-dependent cognitive style tends to exhibit the following characteristics:

General Approach to Reality

1. The child's experiences and perceptions are organized in terms of wholes or totalities.
2. His sensitivity is to the overall context (social atmosphere) of objects and events, including testing situations.
3. His imagination is exhibited in verbally describing social situations. The social environment is more significant than physical surroundings.

Relationship With Peers

1. The child likes to work with others (in a small, selected group) to achieve a common goal.
2. He enjoys assisting others.
3. He is sensitive to the feelings and opinions of others.

Personal Relationship With The Teacher

1. The child openly expresses positive feelings toward the teacher.
2. He asks questions about the teacher's tasks and personal experiences.
3. He models his behavior after that of the teacher, weeking to become "like" him/her.

4. He prefers "personalized" relationships with authority figures.

Instructional Relationship With the Teacher

1. The child seeks guidance and demonstrations from the teacher.
2. He seeks rewards which strengthen the relationship with the teacher.
3. He is highly motivated when working individually with the teacher.

II. Field-Independent Characteristics

A child who possesses a field-independent cognitive style tends to exhibit the following characteristics:

1. The child performs better on tests which require him to separate a part from an organized whole or to rearrange parts to create a "whole."
2. He tends to be "task-centered" in taking tests, paying scant attention to the social atmosphere of the testing situation.
3. He absorbs factual information more easily than social factors in learning situations.
4. He relates to adults professionally.

Relationship to Peers

1. The child prefers to work independently.
2. He likes to compete and gain individual recognition.
3. He is task oriented and inattentive to the social environment when he is working.

Personal Relationship With the Teacher

1. The child rarely seeks physical contact with the teacher.

2. He tends to restrict his interaction with the teacher to the tasks at hand.

3. He relates to adults professionally, rather than personally.

Instructional Relationship With the Teacher

1. The child likes to attempt new tasks without the teacher's help.

2. He seeks concrete, impersonal rewards (grades, a gold star, and the like).

3. He is motivated when given a specific responsibility by the teacher.

Source: Paraphrased from Manuel Ramirez III and A. Castaneda Cultural Democracy, Bicognitive Development and Education, N.Y.: Academic Press, 1974 pp. 133-135.

APPENDIX C

Reproduced by Special Permission

Appendix C

Table 7.4

Field-Sensitive Teaching Style

Personal behaviors

1. Displays physical and verbal expressions of approval and warmth.
2. Uses personalized rewards which strengthen the relationship with students.

Instructional behaviors

1. Expresses confidence in child's ability to succeed; is sensitive to children who are having difficulty and need help.
2. Gives guidance to students; makes purpose and main principles of lesson obvious; presentation of lesson is clear with steps toward "solution" clearly delineated.
3. Encourages learning through modeling; asks children to imitate.
4. Encourages cooperation and development of group feeling; encourages class to think and work as a unit.
5. Holds informal class discussions; provides opportunities for students to see how concepts being learned are related to students' personal expreiences.

Curriculum related behaviors

1. Emphasizes global aspects of concepts; before beginning lesson, ensures that students understand the performance objectives; identifies generalizations and helps children apply them to particular instances.
2. Personalizes curriculum; teacher relates curriculum materials to the interests and experiences of students as well as to her or his own interests

3. Humanizes curriculum; attributes human characteristics to concepts and principles.

4. Uses teaching materials to elicit expression of feelings from students; helps students apply concepts for labeling their personal experiences.

Table 7.3

Field-Independent Teaching Style

Personal behaviors

1. Is formal in relationship with students; acts the part of an authority figure.

2. Centers attention on instructional objectives; gives social atmosphere secondary importance.

Instructional behaviors

1. Encourages independent student achievement; emphasizes the importance of individual effort.

2. Encourages competition between individual students.

3. Adopts a consultant role; teacher encourages students to seek help only when the experience difficulty.

4. Encourages learning through trial and error.

5. Encourages task orientation; focuses student attention on assigned tasks.

Curriculum related behaviors

1. Focuses on details of curriculum materials.

2. Focuses on facts and principles; teaches students how to solve problems using short cuts and novel approaches.

3. Emphasizes math and science abstractions; teacher tends to use graphs, charts, and formulas in teaching, even when presenting social studies curriculum.

4. Emphasizes inductive learning and the discovery approach; starts with isolated parts and slowly puts them together to construct rules or generalizations.

Source: Quoted from Manuel Ramirez III, A. Castañeda Cultural Democracy, Bicognitive Development and Education N.Y.: Academic Press, 1974 pp. 139-140.

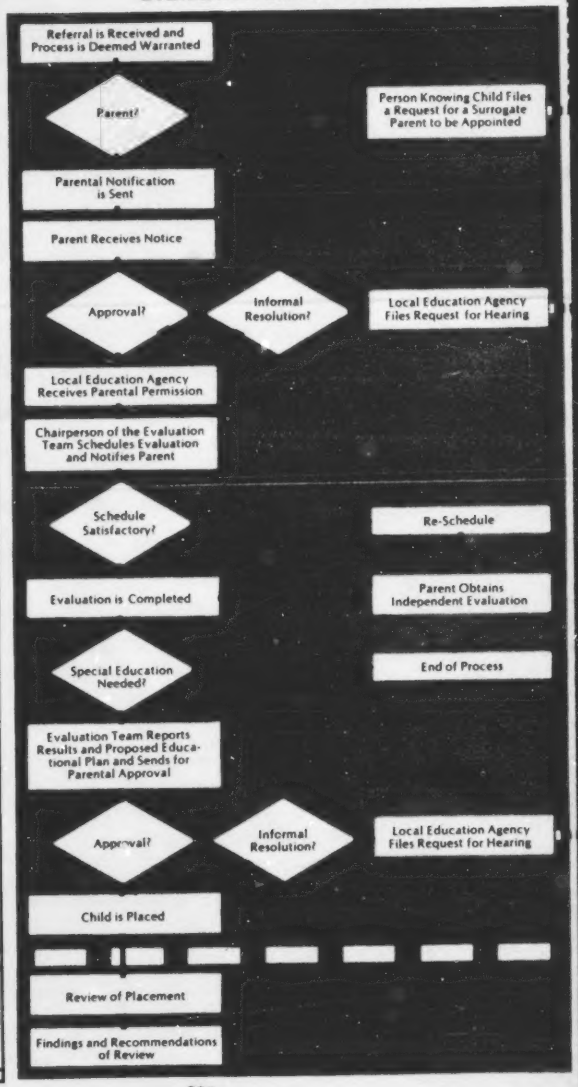
APPENDIX D

Reproduced by Special Permission

Source: From Allen Abeson, Nancy Bolick, Jayne Hass. A Primer on Due Process: Education Decisions For Handicapped Children. Reston, VA: The Council For Exceptional Children, 1975 (appendices and cover).

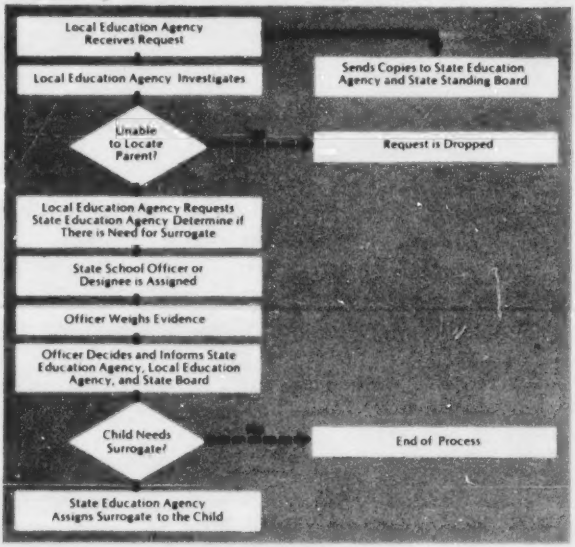
Evaluation and Placement

Cumulative Time	Maximum Time For Each Step
5 days	5 days
7 days	2 days
22 days	15 days
27 days	5 days
57 days	30 days
67 days	10 days
77 days	10 days
8 months	
	10 days


Referral is Received and Process is Deemed Warranted
Parent?
Person Knowing Child Files a Request for a Surrogate Parent to be Appointed
Parental Notification is Sent
Parent Receives Notice
Approval?
Informal Resolution?
Local Education Agency Files Request for Hearing
Local Education Agency Receives Parental Permission
Chairperson of the Evaluation Team Schedules Evaluation and Notifies Parent
Schedule Satisfactory?
Re-Schedule
Evaluation is Completed
Parent Obtains Independent Evaluation
Special Education Needed?
End of Process
Evaluation Team Reports Results and Proposed Educational Plan and Sends for Parental Approval
Approval?
Informal Resolution?
Local Education Agency Files Request for Hearing
Child is Placed
Review of Placement
Findings and Recommendations of Review

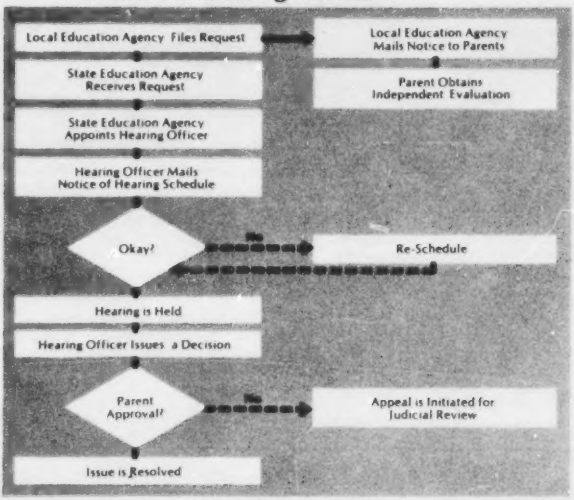
Request for a Surrogate Parent

Cumulative Time	Maximum Time For Each Step
10 days	10 days
40 days	30 days
45 days	5 days


Local Education Agency Receives Request
Local Education Agency Investigates
Sends Copies to State Education Agency and State Standing Board
Unable to Locate Parent?
Request is Dropped
Local Education Agency Requests State Education Agency Determine if There is Need for Surrogate
State School Officer or Designee is Assigned
Officer Weighs Evidence
Officer Decides and Informs State Education Agency, Local Education Agency, and State Board
Child Needs Surrogate?
End of Process
State Education Agency Assigns Surrogate to the Child

Hearing Process

Cumulative Time	Maximum Time For Each Step
5 days	5 days
15 days	10 days
25 days	10 days
65 days	40 days
75 days	10 days



Appendix

FORM 1

REQUEST FOR INTERPRETER/TRANSLATOR

ORIGINATOR: Special Education Administrator.

PURPOSE: All communication with parents of children referred for service or receiving service should be conducted in the primary language of the home. If the special education administrator determines that the language is other than English and that an interpreter/translator is needed to facilitate communications between the evaluation team members and the parents and/or the child, then this form should be completed.

1. CHILD'S NAME:_____

   PARENT'S NAME:_____

   ADDRESS:_____
   Number Street

   _____
   City State Zip Code

2. The primary language of the home is_____.

3. An interpreter/translator will be needed for the following:
   - _____Preevaluation (written)
   - _____Preevaluation (oral)
   - _____Conference
   - _____Review of educational plan (written)
   - _____Review of educational plan (oral)
   - _____Review of records (written)
   - _____Hearing procedure
   - _____Identification of a surrogate parent

4. An interpreter/translator is needed on the following date(s):

   _____

   _____

   _____

   _____

FORM 2

REFERRAL FOR EVALUATION

ORIGINATOR: School personnel (including a teacher), a parent, a judicial officer, a social worker, a physician, a person having custody of the child, any other person including a school age child who may ask for a referral through any one of those listed above.

PURPOSE: To begin the evaluation process.

SEND TO: Special Education Administrator.

Date:_____

STUDENT

1. NAME:_____
Last First Middle

2. ADDRESS:_____
Number Street

_____
City State Zip Code

3. TELEPHONE:_____
Area Code Number

4. BIRTH DATE:_____/_____/_____ 5. GRADE:_____
Month Day Year

6. CURRENT EDUCATIONAL PROGRAM:

☐ Regular ☐ None ☐ Special Needs ☐ Other

PARENT

1. NAME:_____
Last First Middle

2. ADDRESS:_____
Number Street

_____
City State Zip Code

3. TELEPHONE:_____
Area Code Number

4. PRIMARY LANGUAGE OF THE HOME:

☐ English ☐ Other Specify_____

IS THIS AN INITIAL EVALUATION? ☐ Yes ☐ No

SPECIFIC REASONS FOR REFERRAL

Please indicate the specific reasons and/or situations which make you feel that an evaluation is needed.

1._____

_____

2.

3.

4.

ATTEMPTS TO RESOLVE

Please indicate all attempts to resolve each of the above listed reasons within the current educational program. This should include what was done, for how long, and by whom. Attempts to resolve should follow the sequence of reasons listed above.

1.

2.

3.

4.

FORM 3

NOTICE OF INTENT TO CONDUCT AN EVALUATION

ORIGINATOR: Special Education Administrator.

PURPOSE: To inform parents that a referral for an evaluation has been made and to inform parents of their rights.

Date:_____

Dear Parent:

_____ (Name), _____ (Title),

recently filed a form requesting that your child, _____ (Child's name), be evaluated by this office. A copy of the request as filed is enclosed for your review.

The evaluation procedures and their associated instruments that will be used in each of the following areas are:

Intelligence:

Achievement:

Behavior:

Physical:

Other:

The findings of the evaluation will be used by the following people to develop a set of program recommendations for your child.

_____ Name	_____ Title
_____ Name	_____ Title
_____ Name	_____ Title

It is very important that you be aware of and understand that you have the following rights:

1. To review all records related to the referral for evaluation.
2. To review the procedures and instruments to be used in the evaluation.
3. To refuse to permit the evaluation (in which case the local education agency can request a hearing to try to overrule you).
4. To be fully informed of the results of the evaluation.
5. To get an outside evaluation for your child from a public agency, at public expense if necessary.

Your child's educational status will not be changed without your knowledge and written approval.

Enclosed is a Parent Permission Form which must be completed by you and returned to this office within 10 school days.

Should you have any questions please do not hesitate to call me.

Yours truly,

_____

Name

Title

Telephone Number

Enclosures: Form 2
Form 4

FORM 4

PARENTAL PERMISSION FORM

Name of Director of Special Education:_____

Address:_____

_____

Dear (Director of Special Education):

I am in receipt of the Notice of Intent to Conduct an Evaluation for my child,_____ (Child's name) _____. I understand the reasons and the description of the evaluation process that you provided and have checked the appropriate box below.

☐ Permission is given to conduct the evaluation as described.

☐ Permission is denied.

_____

Parent's Signature

_____

Date

FORM 5

NOTICE OF THE FILING OF A REQUEST FOR A HEARING

ORIGINATOR: Special Education Administrator.

PURPOSE: To inform the parents that the local education agency has filed for a hearing in response to a parent's refusal to permit an evaluation or placement or in response to a disagreement with the proposed education plan.

Date:_____

Dear Parent:

Since we have been unable to reach agreement on the proposed evaluation (educational placement) of your child, this agency has today filed a request for a hearing before an impartial officer. It is hoped that this hearing will enable a fair and speedy resolution of our differences.

You have the right to an independent evaluation of your child from a public agency at public expense and the right to be represented at the hearing by any person or persons of your choice. You are entitled to review and photocopy all of your child's school files and records.

A description of the hearing procedure and a list of your rights relative to the hearing are enclosed. A list of agencies in the community from which legal counsel may be obtained is also enclosed. Should you have any questions or concerns please feel free to contact me.

We are looking forward to settling this quickly so that we are all assured that your child is receiving an appropriate education.

Sincerely yours,

_____

Special Education Administrator

Telephone Number

Enclosures

A full description of the hearing procedures followed in your district should be included as an enclosure. The following information should be highlighted.

1. The description of the hearing procedure should state that the parent has the right:
   - To be represented by legal counsel.
   - To bring witnesses.
   - To request certain school personnel to be present.
   - To cross examine.
   - To obtain an independent evaluation.
   - To request a "closed" hearing if desired.
   - To examine and reproduce all school records.

2. The following procedural elements should be emphasized:
   - A record of the hearing will be made if requested.
   - If the child has not reached the age of majority, the parents shall have the right to determine if the child shall attend the hearing, except on a finding by the hearing officer that attendance would be harmful to the welfare of the child. The child may then be excluded from all or part of the hearing.

3. The burden of proof as to the adequacy and appropriateness of the proposed course of action shall be upon the local education agency.

4. A tape recording or other verbatim record of the hearing shall be made and shall be controlled by the state education agency. The parent and the local education agency shall have the right to this record on request.

5. At all stages of the hearing, interpretation for the deaf and interpreters in the primary language of the home (when other than English) shall be provided at public expense.

FORM 6

EVALUATION SCHEDULE AND PROCEDURES

ORIGINATOR: Chairperson of the Evaluation Team.

PURPOSE: To keep the parent thoroughly informed about the evaluation process and to encourage parental participation.

Date:_____

Dear Parent:

Thank you for responding promptly and granting permission for (Child's name) to be evaluated. The evaluation will be conducted exactly as it was described to you in the Notice of Intent to Conduct an Evaluation.

We have scheduled the evaluation for:

Date	Time	Place
_____	_____	_____

If for some reason this schedule is not acceptable to you, please contact me as soon as possible. The evaluation will be completed within 30 days of the date of this letter unless you submit a written request for a delay.

If you have any questions please feel free to call me at any time.

Yours truly,

_____

Chairperson of the Evaluation Team

Telephone Number

FORM 7

EDUCATIONAL PLAN: DEVELOPMENT

ORIGINATOR: Evaluation Team.

PURPOSE: To review the results of the evaluation and, based on the outcome, to determine specific educational objectives and recommend a service delivery plan to meet those objectives. It is then the special education administrator's responsibility to see that services are delivered.

The evaluation team finds that your child ☐ **requires** ☐ **does not require** **special services.**

GENERAL EDUCATIONAL OBJECTIVES

1. Based on the various demonstrated capabilities indicated by the evaluation, the overall objectives for this student during the next 2 to 3 years are:

2. The evaluation team believes this student should be doing the following work in 1 year (e.g., activities, levels of performance):

3. Considering the above statements and the results of the evaluation, the educational activities that are required for next year are (items such as recommended teaching approach, suggested work load, and supportive elements such as parent counseling, special materials and equipment, etc.):

(Continued)

FORM 7 (Continued)

SPECIFIC EDUCATIONAL OBJECTIVES

Date:_____

This statement covers the period_____, 19_____, to _____, 19_____.

Behavioral objective	Support element	Equipment	Goals realized				
			When			Where	
			1st semester	2nd semester	Summer	School	Home

This statement of general and specific educational objectives is in no way intended to limit the student's educational program, but rather indicates priorities the evaluation team considers essential.

Signature:_____ Date:_____
Chairperson

FORM 8

EDUCATIONAL PLAN: REQUEST FOR PARENT'S APPROVAL

ORIGINATOR: Special Education Administrator.

PURPOSE: To present the proposed educational objectives to the parents and obtain their approval for the recommended placement.

Name of Special Education Administrator:_____

Address:_____

_____

Date:_____

Dear Parent:

The evaluation of your child has been completed. All papers relevant to the evaluation, including the actual results of each assessment, are available for your inspection. All school reports, files, and records pertaining to your child are available to you for copying.

Your child's educational plan and placement and the services that will be provided to attain the prescribed objectives of the plan are described in the enclosed forms. Please review this information carefully.

Do you approve of the proposed educational objectives? ☐ Yes ☐ No

Do you approve of the proposed educational placement? ☐ Yes ☐ No

Signature:_____ Date: _____
Parent

If you have not approved this plan, we would like to discuss this with you informally sometime during the next 30 days. During this period you have the right to meet with any member of the evaluation team or with the entire team to try to resolve any differences. If we cannot resolve any disagreement informally, then you have the right to obtain a hearing before an impartial officer. During any period of disagreement over placement, your child will continue in his present educational placement.

If you have signified that you accept the plan as presented, your child's proposed educational program will start immediately after receipt of this form.

Sincerely yours,

_____
Special Education Administrator

Enclosure: Form 7

FORM 9

REVIEW OF EDUCATIONAL PLACEMENT

ORIGINATOR: Special Education Administrator.

PURPOSE: No later than 8 months after a child's educational status has been changed and during each calendar year thereafter, the local education agency must conduct a review of the program to evaluate its effectiveness in meeting the child's educational needs. This form letter is to notify the parents when the review is scheduled.

Dear Parent:

It has been almost 8 months (1 year) since_____(Child's name)_____ was placed in his current educational program. In order to evaluate how well suited the program is, we have scheduled a review (reevaluation).

The review will take place on_____ at_____
Day Date Time

at_____
Place

I would like you to participate in this review. If the scheduled time is not convenient please contact me immediately so that we might rearrange it.

The following procedures will occur:

Within 10 days after the reevaluation you will receive notice of the findings and recommendations made.

It is very important that you be aware of and understand that you have the following rights:

1. To go over all records related to the reevaluation.
2. To go over the procedures of the reevaluation.
3. To reject the conduct of a reevaluation (in which case the local education agency can request a hearing to try to overrule you).
4. To be fully informed of the results of the reevaluation.

Should you have any questions please feel free to call me at any time.

Yours truly,

_____
Special Education Administrator

FORM 10

REQUEST FOR ASSIGNMENT OF A SURROGATE PARENT

ORIGINATOR: Any employee of a school district, state education agency, residential school, institution, or hospital; any judicial officer; or any other person whose work involves education or treatment of children who knows of a child possibly needing special educational services and knows that:

- The child's parents or guardians are not known.
- The child's parents or guardians are not available.
- The child is a ward of the state.

PURPOSE: To request assignment of a surrogate parent to the child. The request shall be filed with the local education agency.

Date:_____

CHILD

1. NAME:_____

2. ADDRESS:_____
Number Street

_____
City State Zip Code

3. TELEPHONE:_____
Area Code Number

4. WITH WHOM IS THE CHILD RESIDING?
NAME:_____

RELATIONSHIP:_____

INQUIRER

1. NAME:_____

2. POSITION TITLE:_____

3. EMPLOYER/AGENCY:_____

4. BUSINESS ADDRESS:_____
Number Street

_____
City State Zip Code

5. BUSINESS TELEPHONE:_____
Area Code Number

6. WHY HAS THIS REQUEST BEEN MADE?

_____

_____

_____

Signature:_____
Person Making Request

APPENDIX E

Reproduced by Special Permission

TESTS FOR SPANISH-SPEAKING CHILDREN

The following information has been derived from the Educational Testing Service Test Collection and Head Start Test Collection. Annotated bibliographies on these tests are available at Educational Testing Service, Princeton, New Jersey, 08540. Copies of the tests must be obtained directly from the publisher or author (See listing of publishers attached)

ead Start Test Collection

Analysis of Readiness Skills: Reading and Mathematics by Mary C. Rodrigues, William H. Vogler, and James F. Wilson; c1969-72; Kindergarten-Grade 1; Houghton Mifflin Company.

Auton Brenner Developmental Gestalt Test of School Readiness by Auton Brenner; c1964; Ages 5-6; Western Psychological Services.

Austin Spanish Articulation Test; c1974; Ages 4-7; Learning Concepts.

Basic Inventory of Natural Language by Charles H. Herbert; c1977; Kindergarten-Grade 8; CHECpoint Systems.

Bilingual Syntax Measure by Marina K. Burt, Heidi C. Dulay, and Eduardo Hernandez Ch.; c1975; Ages 4-9; The Psychological Corporation.

Boehm Test of Basic Concepts (BTBC), 1969 Edition by Ann E. Boehm; c1967-71; Kindergarten-Grade 2; The Psychological Corporation.

CSUF Spanish Language Arts Test by Martha G. Randeri and David L. Dickson; 1974; Grades 3-6; Bilingual-Bicultural Education Program, CSU-Fullerton.

Children's English Proficiency Test by Sallye L. Webster; c1972; Preschool; Tests in Microfiche, Test Collection.

Cloze Test by Robert Bortnick, Ray Dutchover, and Lynne Glasman; 1975; Grades 2-6; Santa Barbara County Bilingual Project.

Cross-Cultural Attitude Inventory by Stephen L. Jackson and Ron Klinger; Not Dated; Ages 3-12; Dissemination Center for Bilingual and Bicultural Education.

Cultural Attitude Scales by Perry A. Zirkel and Stephen L. Jackson; c1974; Ages 5-14; Learning Concepts.

Dallas Preschool Screening Test by Robert R. Percival and Suzanne Poxon; c1972; Ages 3-6; Dallas Educational Services.

Del Rio Language Screening Test by Allen S. Toronto, D. Leverneau, Cornelia Hanna, Peggy Rosenweig, and Antoneta Maldonada; c1975; Ages 3-7; National Educational Laboratory Publishers, Inc.

Denver Articulation Screening Exam by William K. Frankenburg and Amelia F. Drumwright; c1973; Ages 2.5-6; LADOCA Project and Publishing Foundation, Inc.

Dos Amigos Verbal Language Scales by Donald E. Critchlow; c1974; Kindergarten-Grade 6; Academic Therapy Publications.

English Phonemic Unit Production Test (Revised) by Rudolph V. Skoczylas; c1972; Kindergarten-Grade 13; Rudolph V. Skoczylas.

Escala de Inteligencia Wechsler para Niños by David Wechsler (translated by Pablo Roca); c1949-67; Ages 5-15; The Psychological Corporation.

Henderson Enviornmental Learning Process Scale by Ronald W. Henderson, John R. Bergan, and Maure Hurt, Jr.; c1972; Parents of Young Children; Tests in Microfiche, Test Collection.

Home Bilingual Usage Estimate by Rudolph V. Skoczylas; c1971; Kindergarten-Grade 12; Rudolph V. Skoczylas.

I.P.E. Juvenil by Sybil B.G. Eysenck (adapted by Blanca M. de Alvarez and Guido A. Barrientos); c1965-68; Ages 7-16; Educational and Industrial Testing Service.

Informal Language Assessment; Not Dated; Preschool and Above; Marysville Reading-Learning Center.

Inter-American Series by Herschel T. Manuel; c1950-73; Preschool-Grade 13; Guidance Testing Associates.

Interpersonal Effectiveness Diagnosis by Monroe K. Rowland and Jerry Southard; c1973; Kindergarten and Above; Human Development Training Institute.

Inventario de Ayuda para Apredizaje by Annabelle Markoff; c1976; Kindergarten-Grade 3; Urban Education Press.

Inventario de Habilidades para Aprender a Leer by Jack Shelquist, Barbara Breeze, and Bette Jacquot; c1975; Preschool; Educational Programmers, Inc.

James Language Dominance Test by Peter James; c1974; Ages 3-6; Learning Concepts.

Language Assessment Battery; c1976; Kindergarten-Grade 12; Board of Education of the City of New-York.

Linguistic Capacity Index by Frederick H. Brengleman and John C. Manning; c1964; Grades 1-3; Southwest Educational Development Laboratory.

Martinek-Zaichkowsky Self-Concept Scale for Children by Thomas J. Martinek and Leonard J. Zaichkowsky; c1977; Grades 1-8; Psychologists and Educators, Inc.

Marysville Test of Language Dominance by Eleanor Thonis; 1973; Preschool-Grade 5; Eleanor Thonis.

Michigan Oral Language Productive Tests: Conceptual Oral Language Test by John C. Larson, Marilyn M. Larson, Dustin L. Decker; 1969; Grades 1-3; American Council on the Teaching of Foreign Languages.

Michigan Oral Language Productive Tests: Structured Response Test by Richard C. Benjamin, Ralph F. Robinett, Helen Carney, and Barbara Stovall; 1970; Ages 4-6; American Council on the Teaching of Foreign Languages.

Moreno Quick Language Assessment Inventory by Steve Moreno; c1974; Kindergarten-Grade 6; Moreno Educational Company.

Oral Language Assessment for Diagnosis and Planning; 1975; Preschool and Above; Marysville Reading-Learning Center.

Oral Language Evaluation (OLE) by Nicholas J. Silvaroli and J.O. Maynes, Jr.; c1975; Grades 1-3; D.A. Leur's Associates, Inc.

Oral School Attitude Test by Juan Rivera; c1973; Kindergarten-Grade 3; Learning Concepts.

Pictorial Test of Bilingualism and Language Dominance by Darwin Nelson, Michael J. Fellner, and C.L. Norrell; c1975; Ages 4-8; Texas Testing Service.

Primary Self-Concept Inventory by Douglas Muller and Robert Leonetti; c1973; Kindergarten-Grade 6; Learning Concepts.

Primary Self-Concept Scale by Douglas G. Muller and Robert Leonetti; 1972; Kindergarten-Grade 4; Dissemination Center for Bilingual Bicultural Education.

Prueba de Lectura; 1971; Kindergarten; Pharr-San Juan-Alamo Independent School District.

Pupil Record of Educational Behavior: Spanish Edition by Ruth Cheves; c1975; Preschool-Grade 3; Teaching Resources Corporation.

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